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Human Events is published weekly by HUMAN EVENTS, INC., 410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003-Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. $12.50 per year NEWSPAPER

Reuther Seen as New AFL-CIO Chieftain

By VICTOR RIESEL

There can be significance in silence, especially if the quiet one is Walter Philip Reuther. For months now the barrel-chested, fiery leader of a million auto and aerospace workers has not been dueling with the mighty in and out of labor.

To insiders the "red-head" has become labor's "crown prince." He has shed leadership of the bloc that opposed the elder statesmen.

Therefore, now almost 58, Reuther appears to be first in line of succession to the national leadership of all American labor. It will be a while before today's Mr. Labor, George Meany, decides to retire from the AFL-CIO presidency. But the "tip" money now is betting on Reuther as a successor for the first time.

Reuther has switched from gadfly to ally of George Meany.

Nor is that all in this former vale of violent arguments. Peace has come to Reuther and the powerful bloc of hard-boiled labor leaders in what is known as the Building and Construction Trades Union. The latter move inside labor like a pre-Ivy League football line—all in a tight circle, heavy and crushing—when they believe the interests of their three million members are concerned.

In the past, Hatfield and McCoy were just two kids playing marbles compared to the Reuther construction trades feud.

In effect, the struggle symbolized the turbulent contest between the old AFL unions and the young Turks who launched the CIO after John L. Lewis punched the nose of a carpenters' chief by the name of "Big Bill" Hutcheson. This bout between two corpulent men is known as the Battle of the Bulges. That was in 1935.

Reuther was a John Lewis prodigy. "Hutch" symbolized the sturdy old craft unions. For over three decades this vendetta flared across the land. Not even the merger of the AFL and CIO 10 years ago soothed the angry men.

In recent years the battles flared hot because the construction unions were eager to get one certain law repealed. Reuther and some of his old CIO colleagues bucked them. Mark well this construction union demand. Soon it will make the same impact and create as much controversy as repeal of the right-to-work laws.

The construction unions want repeal of a federal law which prohibits "on-site" picketing. This law says that no one union can picket a huge construction project on which many contractors and other unions are involved—if the picketing causes the shut-down of the entire project.

The craft unions want the right to picket an entire construction site even if they have a dispute with only one employer out of 50 on the project and their picketing would shut it down entirely.

Reuther, in effect, would not go along, because it could have been used against his own union or those of his own "bloc." So labor's friends in Congress and the White House said, okay, when you unite we'll push the repeal through.

Walter Reuther, currently head of the United Auto Workers, wants to be the No. 1 man in big labor.

Finally, last February, unnoticed by the public and even insiders, Reuther and the 18 construction unions' chiefs, led by Neil Haggerty, held a peace conference in Bal Harbour, Fla. Reuther and the craft union leaders shook hands. They signed an agreement.

Most important was a call for trade union solidarity written into that treaty of Bal Harbour.

Since then both sides have worked closely. Only Reuther's friend Jim Carey was the wasp in the ointment. But he was dumped by his own union. Reuther did not feel compelled to protect or defend Carey publicly or privately.

With Carey no longer needling the older craft union men, the irritations are gone. Suspicions have eased. If teetotaler Reuther would take a drink, there would be positive fraternity.

Now, for the first time in three decades, labor is united. Meany and Reuther are becoming a team. Labor soon will begin showing a united front. It's a new era.

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Editorial comment by *Human Events*:

As head of the 13-million-member AFL-CIO and as lord over its powerful political apparatus, Walter Reuther could be expected to establish revolutionary changes in America's economic system, changes even more radical than those being pushed by President Johnson at the present time. Reuther would, furthermore, very likely weaken the AFL-CIO's steadfast opposition to communism both at home and abroad.

Reuther's ideas stem from a Marxist milieu, and while he may not consider himself a strict Socialist today, he has been in the forefront of those beating the drums for an ever-expanding federal government.

One cannot think of an area of life, unless that area touches Reuther's own power, in which he does not welcome the heavy hand of centralism.

In an address to the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO less than two years ago, he made his economic views plain. He said it was "politically insane and morally indefensible" to put a conservative like Harry Byrd (D.-Va.) in charge of writing tax policies. He called for a "national planning agency" to direct the entire economy and said that anyone today who puts his faith in the market place as a means of regulating the economy is "an economic moron."

Reuther has made it clear that he does not brook dissent and is willing to muster all sorts of means, including federal power, to destroy those who disagree with his point of view. In a special memorandum drawn up in 1961, he called for "deliberate Administration policies and programs to contain the radical right from further expansion."

He described the radical right as "an unknown number of millions of Americans of viewpoints bounded on the left by Sen. Goldwater and on the right by Robert Welch." As one of his suggested programs to contain the radical right, he called for putting conservative organizations on the attorney general's subversive list, even though he adduced no evidence that any organization he desired to be listed had engaged in unlawful actions against the U.S. government.

If Reuther takes over the AFL-CIO, one can expect its whole philosophy of opposing communism to mellow. Reuther, for example, is president of the United Auto Workers. In 1964, the UAW convention called for abolition of such valuable anti-Communist agencies as the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. Reuther, influenced on foreign affairs by his brother Victor, would probably shift the foreign policy of the AFL-CIO as well.

The mere mention of Reuther as head of the AFL-CIO sends shudders down the backs of anti-Communist union leaders who feel he would wreck the Meany policy of bolstering anti-Communist unions abroad. That he might soon be running the most powerful union in America is indeed a sobering thought.

League of Women Voters — Its Liberal Bias Revealed

Special 4-page report . . . . See pages 7, 8, 9 and 10

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Rollcall Vote on Urban Dept.

Following is the 217-184 vote rollcall by which the House passed a bill June 16 to create a Cabinet Department of Housing and Urban Development:

Democrats for: 208

Adams (Wash.)
Addabbo (N.Y.)
Albert (Okla.)
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio (Ill.)
Ashley (Ohio)
Aspinall (Colo.)
Bandstra (Iowa)
Barrett (Pa.)
Beckworth (Tex.)
Bingham (N.Y.)
Blatnik (Minn.)
Boggs (La.)
Boland (Mass.)
Bolling (Mo.)
Brademas (Ind.)
Brooks (Tex.)
Brown (Calif.)
Burke (Mass.)
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Callan (Neb.)
Carey (N.Y.)
Celler (N.Y.)
Chelf (Ky.)
Clark (Pa.)
Clevenger (Mich.)
Cohelan (Calif.)
Conyers (Mich.)
Craley (Pa.)
Culver (Iowa)
Daddario (Conn.)
Daniels (N.J.)
Dawson (Ill.)
Delaney (N.Y.)
Dent (Pa.)
Denton (Ind.)
Diggs (Mich.)
Dingell (Mich.)
Donohue (Mass.)
Dow (N.Y.)
Downing (Va.)
Dulski (N.Y.)
Duncan (Ore.)
Dyal (Calif.)
Edmondson (Okla.)
Edwards (Calif.)
Evans (Colo.)
Everett (Tenn.)
Evins (Tenn.)
Fallon (Md.)
Farbstein (N.Y.)
Farnsley (Ky.)
Farnham (Mich.)
Fascell (Fla.)
Feighan (Ohio)
Flood (Pa.)
Fogarty (R.I.)
Foley (Wash.)
Wm. Ford (Mich.)
Fraser (Minn.)
Friedel (Md.)
Fulton (Tenn.)
Gallagher (N.J.)
Garmatz (Md.)
Giaimo (Conn.)
Gibbons (Fla.)
Gilbert (N.Y.)
Gilligan (Ohio)
Gonzalez (Tex.)
Grabowski (Conn.)
Gray (Ill.)
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Greigg (Iowa)
Grider (Tenn.)
Griffiths (Mich.)
Hagen (Calif.)
Hamilton (Ind.)
Hanley (N.Y.)
Hanna (Calif.)
Hansen (Iowa)
Hansen (Wash.)
Hardy (Va.)
Hathaway (Maine)
Hawkins (Calif.)
Hays (Ohio)
Hechler (W.Va.)
Helstoski (N.J.)
Hicks (Wash.)
Holifield (Calif.)
Holland (Pa.)
Howard (N.J.)
Hungate (Mo.)
Huot (N.H.)
Irwin (Conn.)
Jacobs (Ind.)
Jarman (Okla.)
Jennings (Va.)
Joelson (N.J.)
Johnson (Calif.)
Johnson (Okla.)
Jones (Ala.)
Jones (Mo.)
Karsten (Mo.)
Karth (Minn.)
Kastenmeier (Wis.)
Kelly (N.Y.)
Keogh (N.Y.)
King (Calif.)
Kirwan (Ohio)
Kluczynski (Ill.)
Krebs (N.J.)
Leggett (Calif.)
Long (Md.)
Love (Ohio)
McCarthy (N.Y.)
McDowell (Del.)
McFall (Calif.)
McGrath (N.J.)
Machen (Md.)
Mackie (Mich.)
Madden (Ind.)
Meeds (Wash.)
Miller (Calif.)
Mills (Ark.)
Minish (N.J.)
Mink (Hawaii)
Monagan (Conn.)
Moorhead (Pa.)
Morgan (Pa.)
Morrison (La.)
Moss (Calif.)
Multer (N.Y.)
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Natcher (Ky.)
Nedzi (Mich.)
Nix (Pa.)
O'Brien (N.Y.)
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen (Mont.)
Olson (Minn.)
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger (N.Y.)
Patman (Tex.)
Patten (N.J.)
Pepper (Fla.)
Perkins (Ky.)
Philbin (Mass.)
Pickle (Tex.)
Powell (N.Y.)
Price (Ill.)
Pucinski (Ill.)
Purcell (Tex.)
Race (Wis.)
Redlin (N.D.)
Resnick (N.Y.)
Reuss (Wis.)
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rodino (N.J.)
Rogers (Colo.)
Ronan (Ill.)
Roncalio (Wyo.)
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Roosevelt (Calif.)
Rosenthal (N.Y.)
Rostenkowski (Ill.)
Roush (Ind.)
Roybal (Calif.)
Ryan (N.Y.)
St. Germain (R.I.)
St. Onge (Conn.)
Schisler (Ill.)
Schmidhauser (Ia.)
Senner (Ariz.)
Sickles (Md.)
Sisk (Calif.)
Smith (Iowa)
Stalbaum (Wis.)
Steed (Okla.)
Stratton (N.Y.)
Stubblefield (Ky.)
Sullivan (Mo.)
Sweeney (Ohio)
Tenzer (N.Y.)
Thompson (La.)
Thompson (N.J.)
Thompson (Tex.)
Todd (Mich.)
Trimble (Ark.)
Tunney (Calif.)
Udall (Ariz.)
Ullman (Ore.)
Van Deerlin (Calif.)
Vanik (Ohio)
Vigorito (Pa.)
Vivian (Mich.)
Walker (N.M.)
Watts (Ky.)
White (Idaho)
White (Tex.)
Willis (La.)
Wolff (N.Y.)
Yates (Ill.)
Young (Tex.)

Democrats against: 66

Abbitt (Va.)
George Andrews (Ala.)
Ashmore (S.C.)
Baring (Nev.)
Bennett (Fla.)
Burleson (Tex.)
Cabell (Tex.)
Casey (Tex.)
Colmer (Miss.)
Cooley (N.C.)
Davis (Ga.)
De La Garza (Tex.)
Dorn (S.C.)
Dowdy (Tex.)
Flynt (Ga.)
Fountain (N.C.)
Puqua (Fla.)
Gathings (Ark.)
Gettys (S.C.)
Haley (Fla.)
Harris (Ark.)
Henderson (N.C.)
Herlong (Fla.)
Hull (Mo.)
King (Utah)
Kornegay (N.C.)
Landrum (Ga.)
Lennon (N.C.)
Long (La.)
McMillan (S.C.)
MoVicker (Colo.)
Mackay (Ga.)
Mahon (Tex.)
Marsh (Va.)
Matthews (Fla.)
Moeller (Ohio)
Morris (N.M.)
Murray (Tenn.)
O'Neal (Ga.)
Passman (La.)
Poage (Tex.)
Pool (Tex.)
Randall (Mo.)
Rivers (S.C.)
Roberts (Tex.)
Rogers (Fla.)
Rogers (Tex.)
Satterfield (Va.)
Scott (N.C.)
Secrest (Ohio)
Selden (Ala.)
Shipley (Ill.)
Sikes (Fla.)
Slack (W.Va.)
Smith (Va.)
Stephens (Ga.)
Taylor (N.C.)
Teague (Tex.)
Tuck (Va.)
Tuten (Ga.)
Waggonner (La.)
Weltner (Ga.)
Whitener (N.C.)
Whitten (Miss.)
Williams (Miss.)
Wright (Tex.)

Republicans for: 9

Cahill (N.J.)
Fino (N.Y.)
Halpern (N.Y.)
Horton (N.Y.)
Lindsay (N.Y.)
Minshall (Ohio)
O'Konski (Wis.)
Reid (N.Y.)
Tupper (Maine)

Republicans against: 118

Adair (Ind.)
Anderson (Ill.)
G Andrews (Ala.)
Andrews (N.D.)
Arends (Ill.)
Ashbrook (Ohio)
Baldwin (Calif.)
Bates (Mass.)
Battin (Mont.)
Belcher (Okla.)
Bell (Calif.)
Berry (S.D.)
Betts (Ohio)
Bolton (Ohio)
Brock (Tenn.)
Broomfield (Mich.)
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan (Ala.)
Burton (Utah)
Byrnes (Wis.)
Callaway (Ga.)
Carter (Ky.)
Cederberg (Mich.)
Clancy (Ohio)
Del Clawson (Calif.)
Cleveland (N.H.)
Collier (Ill.)
Conable (N.Y.)
Conte (Mass.)
Corbett (Pa.)
Cramer (Fla.)
Cunningham (Neb.)
Curtin (Pa.)
Curtis (Mo.)
Dague (Pa.)
Davis (Wis.)
Derwinski (Ill.)
Devine (Ohio)
Dickinson (Ala.)
Dole (Kan.)
Duncan (Tenn.)
Dwyer (N.J.)
Edwards (Ala.)
Ellsworth (Kan.)
Erlenborn (Ill.)
Gerald Ford (Mich.)
Frelinghuysen (N.J.)
Fulton (Pa.)
Goodell (N.Y.)
Griffin (Mich.)
Gross (Iowa)
Grover (N.Y.)
Gubser (Calif.)
Gurney (Fla.)
Hall (Mo.)
Halleck (Ind.)
Hansen (Idaho)
Harsha (Ohio)
Harvey (Mich.)
Hosmer (Calif.)
Hutchinson (Mich.)
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas (N.C.)
King (N.Y.)
Kunkel (Pa.)
Laird (Wis.)
Langen (Minn.)
Latta (Ohio)
Lipscomb (Calif.)
McClory (Ill.)
McCulloch (Ohio)
McDade (Pa.)
MacGregor (Minn.)
Mailliard (Calif.)
Martin (Neb.)
Mathias (Md.)
May (Wash.)
Michel (Ill.)
Mize (Kan.)
Moore (W.Va.)
Morse (Mass.)
Morton (Md.)
Mosher (Ohio)
Nelsen (Minn.)
Pelly (Wash.)
Poff (Va.)
Quie (Minn.)
Quillen (Tenn.)
Reid (Ill.)
Reifel (S.D.)
Reinecke (Calif.)
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Robison (N.Y.)
Roudebush (Ind.)
Rumsfeld (Ill.)
Saylor (Pa.)
Schneebeli (Pa.)
Schweiker (Pa.)
Shriver (Kan.)
Skubitz (Kan.)
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (N.Y.)
Springer (Ill.)
Stafford (Vt.)
Stanton (Ohio)
Talcott (Calif.)
Teague (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Walker (Miss.)
Watkins (Pa.)
Watson (S.C.)
Whalley (Pa.)
Widnall (N.J.)
Bob Wilson (Calif.)
Wyatt (Ore.)
Wydler (N.Y.)
Younger (Calif.)

Recorded for but not actually voting 12: Zablocki (Wis.), Toll (Pa.), Corman (Calif.), Charles H. Wilson (Calif.), Rivers (Alaska), Macdonald (Mass.), Thomas (Tex.), Pike (N.Y.), Kee (W.Va.), Cameron (Calif.), Matsunaga (Hawaii): Democrats Martin (Mass.), Republican.

Recorded against but not actually voting 12: Hebert (La.), Abernethy (Miss.), Hagan (Ga.), Fisher (Tex.) Democrats; Brown (Ohio), Findley (Ill.), McEwen (N.Y.), Keith (Mass.), Martin (Ala.), Bray (Ind.), Utt (Calif.) and Don H. Clausen (Calif.), Republicans.

Absent or not voting 8.

Vacancies none.

Cabinet Post for Housing Criticized

A bill to create a Department of Housing and Urban Development passed the House recently by a 217-184 rollcall vote, with only nine Republicans approving the measure (see vote above). The chief arguments against establishing this new Cabinet post appear in the minority views attached to a report prepared by the Committee on Government Operations. Committee Republicans who put forth sharp criticisms of the bill are: Clarence J. Brown (Ohio), Robert P. Griffin (Mich.), Delbert L. Latta (Ohio), William L. Dickinson (Ala.), John N. Erlenborn (Ill.), Howard H. Callaway (Georgia), Edward J. Gurney (Fla.), Frank J. Horton (N. Y.), Florence P. Dwyer (N. J.), and Donald Rumsfeld (Ill.). Here is what they had to say in part:

There is no magic in the establishment of a new bureaucracy in Washington that will in itself help anybody solve local problems. New departments can be created and more money can be spent, but the problems remain unsolved.

• The mushrooming tendency of a new department is attested to by the development of the latest one, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. . . . The average number of employes in the department has grown from 36,613 in fiscal year 1953, when it was established, to 83,928 in March, 1965. Appropriations have increased correspondingly from $1.9 billion in fiscal year 1953 to $6.9 billion in fiscal year 1965. The budget estimate for 1966 is roughly a billion dollars more than that, not including the more than $3 billion in probable supplemental appropriations.

• There is a real fear that establishing a permanent Department of Housing and Urban Development may siphon away from states and municipalities some of the governmental authority that they now enjoy in meeting and deciding, on the basis of the wishes of the residents of the community through their elected representatives, the nature of the communities and the environment in which they live.

• The implications of recent U. S. Supreme Court decisions with respect to malapportioned state legislatures unresponsive to the needs of growing urban areas should in themselves tip the scales in favor of rejection. The resulting trend toward urban-oriented and dominated legislatures should remove one of the major reasons for federal involvement in such state affairs as public welfare, housing, mass transit and the like.

• To say that the bill merely conveys status to the present Housing and Home Finance Agency without transferring any functions in or out of the agency only describes the first step of the long-range strategy—*a strategy apparently designed to bring the solution of the day-to-day problems of community life under the direction of centralized government.*

□ □ □

BROKE BY 1980—Senate GOP leader Everett Dirksen has disclosed the Civil Service Retirement Fund "will be absolutely broke by 1980, maybe sooner." The federal government owes the fund $39 billion. "If this were a private insurance company," Dirksen said, "I'd have them indicted."

□ □ □

NEW YORK POLICE recently arrested two teen-agers for the brutal assault of a bus driver. One of the two was a trainee in an "anti-poverty" city youth program. "We even found an uncashed check for $23 from the program on him," said police.

Reds Harass Viet Nam Widows, Dodd Claims

Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) made the following statement June 22 on the floor of the Senate on the recent harassment by telephone of the kin of U.S. servicemen in Viet Nam.

There is no more cruel or more fiendish form of harassment than that practiced by anonymous telephone callers who use the telephone as an instrument of terror or of torment.

We are accustomed to thinking of these "telephone terrorists" as either criminals or crackpots.

Certainly this is true in most cases. But it is not commonly realized that this merciless weapon is also used in a calculated political manner by the Communist movement against its opponents in this country and in other free countries.

The evidence is now accumulating that we are confronting an organized campaign of telephone harassment of Viet Nam servicemen's families, the only conceivable purpose of which can be to undermine the morale, or seek to undermine the morale, of our forces in Viet Nam.

The first such instance was reported in the New York *Times* on June 10th. The widow of Capt. Christopher O'Sullivan, a 28-year-old Army Captain killed in Viet Nam, received a number of anonymous calls and letters. The first caller said to her about her husband: "He didn't belong in Viet Nam in the first place . . . your husband got what he deserved . . . I am glad. . . it serves him right." The *Times* reported that this call shocked Mrs. O'Sullivan so much that she fainted. Later she had her telephone number changed to an unlisted one. But when the funeral for Captain O'Sullivan was held on June 10, Police Commissioner Vincent Broderick personally commanded a thirty-man security force to cope with the possibility of any demonstration.

An AP dispatch from Da Nang, Viet Nam, yesterday reports that American servicemen are reacting with bitterness and anger to reports from home that their wives and families are being subjected to harassing calls from people opposed to United States involvement in Viet Nam. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to insert into the *Congressional Record* an article from the New York *Times* of June 10, and the AP dispatch from the Baltimore *Sun* of this morning's date, dealing with this matter.

The AP dispatch to which I have referred spoke of the telephone callers as "cranks." At another point it suggested that the calls may have originated with so-called "anti-war groups."

These are interpretations I cannot accept.

I am certain that no member of a pacifist movement, no matter how opposed he might be to our presence in Viet Nam, would resort to this kind of inhuman tactic. For that matter, I find it difficult to believe that even psychopathic or criminal elements could stoop to such base inhumanity.

The nature of the call, and past experience with similar campaigns of harassment, suggest that what is involved here is the organized apparatus of the American Communist party.

I recall that when Judge Irving Kaufman, one of this country's most eminent jurists, presided over the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and passed sentence of death on them after their conviction by the jury, both Judge Kaufman and his wife were harassed by telephone calls for months on end, at all hours of the day and night. They changed their phone number several times, but each time the Communists, in some way, discovered their new number, and the campaign of harassment began all over again. This entire sordid story was the subject of an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* entitled "The Ordeal of Judge Kaufman."

Mr. President, words cannot express the contempt that I feel for those who, for political motivation, stoop to tactics so base and inhuman. I am certain that this feeling of contempt is shared by the overwhelming majority of the American people.

It is my hope that at least some of those involved in this national campaign of telephone harassment will be brought to book so that the American people may get a clearer look at them and so that we will have an opportunity to learn something about their political motivation and associations

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Greene Film Has Red Glow

Britisher Pushes Pro-Red China Movie in U.S.

By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

Currently playing in a New York theatre he rented for the purpose, is Felix Greene's color movie *China!*

Mr. Greene, a British businessman who likes his self-bestowed role of reporter-author on Red China, poses winningly to tell how he made this picture.

The trouble is that Mr. Greene, like all Communist apologists, doesn't tell half the story. He just tells the "beauty" part. The color film, a real professional job for which Mr. Greene takes credit, is the most artful, blatant propaganda to come out of Red China. Greene would have you belive this is the way things are all over Red China today, a country full of smiling, happy people, well-fed, well-nourished, ready to lay down their lives for Chairman Mao, who made all this possible.

For the gullible foreigners who know nothing of China or the Chinese, and do not read or speak Chinese—all the viewers of this expensive, lavish documentary—it will be, as the advertising flyers proclaim, "a shattering eye-opener." To the rest of us, who have lived and worked in China, know the Chinese, and are well up on the whole grisly story of communism in China from 1937 and earlier, right down to now, it is a typical propaganda ploy. It serves also as a means of advertising and selling Greene's two naive books on Red China and his services as a high-priced lecturer on Red China, the avowed No. 1 enemy of the United States wherein Mr. Greene chooses to live and prosper.

He is clever in that he presents his cause as a soft sell, and refrains from the Big Lie. However, he fails to tell the whole truth, and the result is that the carefully chosen places and people, the staged events all done in glorious Technicolor or the Communist equivalent, give a picture of Red China today that is utterly misleading.

Chinese women sort rice seeds for planting. Life in Red China is not quite what Felix Greene makes it out to be in his movie China!

The movie is preceded by a black and white short of the Peking Symphonic Orchestra playing some Chinese compositions and accompanying a young Chinese version of Van Cliburn giving a Mozart piano recital. Mr. Greene says that before 1949 (the year of the Red "revolution"), Western music was virtually unknown in China.

I lived in China for some years before communsim. Even prior to 1937, a good 12 years before the takeover, I can testify that there were at least five symphony orchestras in China, not just one, as now. Moreover, the schools had student orchestras and there were music academies where Chinese studied Western music. Undoubtedly, some of the more mature players in the Communist Peking Orchestra learned their music in these schools.

Mr. Greene said that he had made this picture in China last year, 1964. He gives program credit in fine print to "some historical newsreel footage and material obtained from the China Film Corporation of Peking." That's the Red government. Actually, students of events and sharp-eyed observers can see for themselves that the major part of the film was made before Mr. Greene ever got to China. Much is made of the Herculean labors the Chinese engaged in, out of love for the state, to build the causeway from the mainland to Amoy. This job was actually completed some few years ago, over an old causeway that had been there long before.

The big scene in the picture is the massive, colorful October victory parade. Marching thousands, all organized and drilled to the hilt, swing past their leaders in the reviewing stand. If Mr. Greene photographed this last year, he was a little late. The Chinese characters on the banners clearly proclaim the year 1963.

Most offensive, however, was his declaration that religion is practiced freely, "although China is an atheistic country." He notes parenthetically that so far as the Catholic Church in China is concerned, there are no relations with the Vatican. Actually, Rome broke off relations when the Red government took over the priests, made them servants of the state, and formed the Patriotic Catholic Association. Bishops are now "elected" by the people in Red China.

Greene's Red camera holds on men garbed in priestly robes, giving communion to kneeling Chinese, clasping their rosaries, the little crosses swinging gently in camera focus.

There are no pictures of the American Catholic bishop, the Most Rev. James Edward Walsh, 73, in jail. Bishop Walsh went to China as a young priest in 1918. He devoted 33 years to the Chinese people until the Communists got around to him and accused him of every crime in the book. Although he was under constant surveillance and harassment, Bishop Walsh decided to remain as long as he could. He felt his presence would lend moral support to the Christians who were undergoing so many trials. He was confined in the rectory of Christ the King Church in Shanghai while the Reds made up their minds what to do about him, the last missionary left on the mainland.

He disappeared from view and on Dec. 15, 1959, the Communists announced that he had been arrested for violation of Chinese laws they did not specify. On March 18, 1960, in Shanghai, a Communist judge sentenced Bishop Walsh to 20 years in prison.

The Buddhists and the Moslems are shown at their devotions in the film. But there is no mention or sign of the Moslem uprising against the Communists in 1954 which the world never heard about. Sixty thousand Moslems were massacred in Ningsha Province alone.

When the persecution of religion was at its height in 1952, I journeyed from Hong Kong to the Communist border at Lo Wu. Two German nuns, pale and exhausted, stumbled off the train from Shanghai, and I walked with them as they crossed over into the free country, helped them with their bundles into the train to Hong Kong. They could hardly speak of what they had been through.

The story of the torture, suffering and death of countless priests and nuns is documented by Thomas J. Bauer, M.M., in World Horizons Reports, 1954. It is titled "The Systematic Destruction of the Catholic Church in China," and I recommend it to Mr. Felix Greene. It would make a fine horror movie for his next effort.

(For more on *China!* see page 5.)

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We Are Run by the Splinters

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Ray Bliss, the Republican National Chairman, has sure stirred up the animals by his attack on the Free Society Association that has been formed by Barry Goldwater "to clean up all of the fuzziness about the word 'conservative.' " The attack is resented as flagrantly partisan, and, coming from the particular party official who should be the most scrupulous of all in holding the balance between conservatives, moderates and radicals, it is bound to have the most unfortunate effects on Republican campaigning for 1966.

"What a strange way of showing loyalty," said one highly placed Republican who helped nominate Goldwater but who, as a Nixon man, is far removed from any kook fringe of the party. "Ray Bliss was Goldwater's own personal choice as a compromise chairman. Goldwater trusted him. Now he has singled out Barry's study and paper-writing group for criticism as a splinter element that is bound to dilute support of the official Republican organization. The irony of it is that there are at least eight other similar groups doing position papers and supporting task forces.

"Why didn't Ray Bliss denounce the Ripon Society or the Trumbull Society? And what about the National Citizens' Committee and Charley Taft's Committee for a Progressive Congress and Warren Sinsheimer's Project 68? All of these are precisely on a par with the Free Society Association, only doing their work from a liberal bias."

A deeper irony is that the same Ray Bliss who has denounced the Free Society Association as detrimental to the "two-party system" has gone out of his way to welcome John Lindsay's bid to become mayor of New York. Lindsay is deeply committed to winning in New York City by combining as many splinter elements as he can pick up. He is playing the "two-party system" down as Goldwater himself has never played it down.

So, while Ray Bliss is telling the world that Republicans "should present a united front to the opposition" nationally, John Lindsay bends on supplicating knee to Alex Rose, boss of the splinter Liberal party, and asks for the blessing of a group that is "to the left of the Democratic left." No one is blaming Republican John Lindsay for trying to work up a fusion movement to support him for the mayoralty in a city that is normally a three-to-one shoo-in for a Democrat.

But if it is good tactics for Lindsay to cultivate the splinters in New York City, why is it considered bad politics for a Free Society Association to create a study group to promote its own point of view nationally?

What Ray Bliss has not reckoned with is the fact that the two-party system has become unworkable without splinter societies. The Democratic party, which has far more political sense these days than the Republicans, never denounces a splinter organization. It watches benignly while the Americans for Democratic Action, COPE, and Alex Rose's own New York Liberal party set up shop to campaign for the particular ideas and the particular Democratic candidates that meet with their approval. It does not care in the least whether a man votes under the Liberal label or the traditional Democratic label as long as Democratic candidates benefit.

If Ray Bliss is really convinced of the need for two-party politics, he might meditate on the fact that the opposition to the single-issue, or fusion, movement in New York City is now centered in the Conservative party's William Buckley, the editor and columnist who is slated to be named as the Conservative candidate for mayor by the time these words appear in print. Every other aspirant for the job, whether nominally Republican or Democrat, is busy kowtowing to the Liberal party's Alex Rose.

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FEDERAL PLANNERS will spend approximately $200 million for new office buildings in the Washington area. Scheduled constructions include a $42-million "Little Pentagon" to provide space for some 57,000 employes who can't be squeezed into the original Pentagon; a $32-million building for the Building and Home Finance Agency; a $27-million structure to house the Court of Claims; a $16-million addition to the National Insitutes of Health; a $48-million home for the Patent Office, and a $21-million building for the General Services Administration.

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• Radical leftist Jesse Gray, originator of the Harlem rent strikes, has announced for mayor of New York. Gray has been identified by J. Edgar Hoover as a former district organizer for the Communist party. He plans to run in the Democratic primary, and will base his campaign on the "traditions" of Benjamin Davis, the late Communist leader, and Rep. Adam Clayton Powell.

GRAY

• *The Senate Finance Committee last week finished work on its own version of a Medicare and Social Security bill, adding $800 million to the measure passed by the House April 8. Under the $6.8-billion package produced by the committee—which held all hearings in secret session—the tax rates will soar for those with modest incomes. The Senate Finance Committee bill plans to tax persons 7.7 per cent of the first $6,600 earned between the years 1966 and 1968. The rate will increase to 8.9 per cent in 1969 and jump to 9.8 per cent in 1973.*

• Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N. Y.) has chastised the decision of President Johnson to send the leftist-oriented United Arab Republic $37 million worth of surplus farm products. "It is difficult to understand the President's thinking," said Fino, "in view of the fact that Egypt has sold 40 per cent of its rice crop to Communist China. It is also hard to understand . . . this decision in view of the fact that the Egyptian people have been asked by Nasser to tighten their belts so that 50,000 Egyptian soldiers can be maintained in Yemen at a cost of $100 million a year."

FINO

• *There are several reports in the Capitol that Vice President Hubert Humphrey—in spite of what he says publicly—is very much opposed to Johnson's foreign policy.*

• Intelligence experts in Washington say that Soviet Russian troops are present in North Viet Nam "by the thousands." They are reportedly headed by Lt. Gen. Shcherbakov, Russia's ambassador to North Viet Nam. A guerrilla warfare expert, he headed Russian partisan units in the Ukraine during World War II. He recently left the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR to head the National Liberation Movement Branch. Rep. Michael Feighan (D.-Ohio) says Shcherbakov has earned the nickname, "The Assassin."

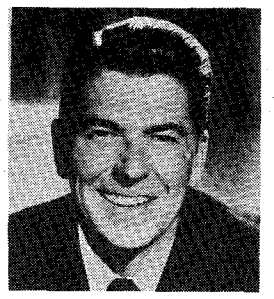
FEIGHAN

• *Are anti-poverty funds distributed on a political basis? Apparently they are. South Carolina, which went for Goldwater last fall and which just elected its first GOP congressman, has received only 2.1 per cent of its allotted funds. Mississippi, another state that has in recent months given new impetus to the Republican party's "Operation Dixie," has received but 2.9 per cent of its funds. By comparison, the District of Columbia (which went overwhelmingly last fall for LBJ) has received 200 per cent of its allocation.*

This Week in Washington

Reagan: GOP Hope?

Actor-politician Ronald Reagan, an ADA liberal who mended his ways to become a Goldwater Republican, is now seriously being tagged by knowledgeable politicos as the new Republican hope. That feeling is expressed by both Golden State politicos and GOP leaders in Washington.



REAGAN

These politicos, after seeing Reagan in action on numerous occasions, say he not only has a good chance of becoming the next governor of California, but if he pulls off that trick in 1966, he could become a serious contestant for a Republican presidential or vice-presidential nomination in 1968.

These pros stress this is not in the least bit fantastic. Like John F. Kennedy, Reagan has charm, wit, and can deliver a stirring talk on the lecture circuit. And, unlike Barry Goldwater, he has mastered that powerful political medium, television.

These experts have only glowing reports about his assets, but they stress that Reagan could blow his political chances unless he decides to forget about national issues and concentrate on the governorship of California.

Says one worried Golden Stater in touch with the GOP's high command in both Washington and California: "Reagan is a superb speech-giver. He's a magnetic personality. And he really could become a powerful figure in the Republican party. But he won't get anyplace as long as he sticks only to national issues. The people of California—and that's where he must launch his political career—want to know about education, crime, braceros, water, etc. And in order to become governor of California, Reagan must start aiming his remarks at Brown and the Democratic party here. Otherwise, he'll never get off the ground."

Politicos point out that "Pat" Brown is slumping in popularity and that a good Republican candidate who capitalizes on California's troubles has an excellent chance of becoming governor in 1966.

One issue Reagan is being urged to exploit is education. California pros recall that while Richard Nixon went down to defeat against Brown in 1962, the conservative-minded Max Rafferty became superintendent of public instruction because of his outspoken criticism of education in California. Politicos believe this is still a smoldering issue and the recent report on the Berkeley riots, put out by a member of Brown's own party (see below), has only stirred the embers. Brown, moreover, is vulnerable on the education issue, since he has sided with the opponents of Rafferty and has long pooh-poohed state reports showing serious left-wing agitation on the campuses.

The Brown administration is also vulnerable on fiscal matters. Only two weeks ago, Brown's record-breaking $4.2-billion budget was left unbalanced when the state assembly adjourned because it couldn't agree on new taxes to make up the $105-million deficit in Brown's budget. And this, of course, hardly exhausts the possibilities of issues. But Reagan, say the pros, has yet to latch onto these subjects. If he doesn't, and doesn't do it soon, politicos feel Reagan will never create for himself the image of an expert on California. Without that image, the pros feel he won't stand a ghost of a chance against "Pat" Brown.

Reds at Berkeley

California's Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, already in political trouble and facing re-election in 1966, received another black eye recently as a result of the University of California imbroglio last December.

A detailed study of the Berkeley riots was released by a special subcommittee of the California Senate headed by a Democrat, Hugh Burns. The Burns report on the student upheavals pointed out the degree of Communist involvement in the riots and spared no criticism of university president Clark Kerr.

Kerr was attacked by the subcommittee of promoting a change in campus policy to permit Communist speakers on campus, "watering down" the position of campus security officers and recognizing such groups as the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs. Said the report: " . . . a minority of Communist leaders managed to bring this great educational institution to its knees."

"It seems strange," the subcommittee went on, "that despite the regents' policy of not tolerating Communists as employes of the university, the administration welcomes Communist organizations, throws the portals open to Communist speakers and exhibits an easy tolerance of Communist activities that defies all reason."

The report, though noting the Free Speech Movement (FSM) began as a protest encompassing wide elements of student opinion, also stressed, "We wish to emphasize with all the force possible there was increasing Communist control of the FSM immediately prior to and after the invasion of Sproul Hall on Dec. 2, 1964. . . ."

"We also found as a result of all our investigations and contacts that members of the Communist organizations on the executive and steering committees of the FSM were in firm control of the situation continuously after Dec. 3, 1964."

"Thus, when the Berkeley rebellion started, we found a united front being formed with Trotskyites, Maoists, Socialists and Moscow Communists joining forces with a wide variety of other groups."

Kerr quit earlier this year, rescinding his resignation a few days later. (One indication of the Berkeley riots' effect upon the Golden State's image: Summer school enrollment at Berkeley is down from last year.) There is some speculation among observers of the California political scene that Kerr will again resign or be eased out to alleviate an already rocky road for Gov. Brown's re-election.

John V. Lindsay (?-N.Y.)

Colleagues of Rep. John Lindsay were surprised last week to see the tousle-haired GOP liberal on the House floor for a rare rollcall. There was no surprise, however, when Lindsay again deserted his party, this time to vote for creation of a federal Department of Urban Affairs.

Nor was there surprise when Lindsay several days later begged leaders of New York's Liberal party for endorsement in his race for mayor. He assured the Liberal big-wigs that if elected he would not "under any circumstances" aid the Republican party.

Lindsay wheeled and dealed with Liberal leaders in a closed-door conference, then emerged to say that he had pledged to them a "non-partisan administration" in which they would play a vital role.

The GOP congressman had earlier announced that one of his two running mates would be a Democrat. He revealed last week the other spot would be filled by a Liberal party member. Quite simply, this means the Republican nominee will go into battle with two members of the political opposition as his running mates.

The Lindsay decision has enraged GOP county leaders who have warned that he is seriously alienating New York's hard-core Republican voters. Lindsay needs solid support from his party's 662,000 registered Republicans if he is to make inroads into the city's 3-to-1 Democratic edge in registration.

• Lindsay's problems were further complicated by the announcement by well-known editor William F. Buckley Jr. that he would seek the mayoralty office on the Conservative party ticket. Buckley is expected to cut heavily into any potential Lindsay victory margin. (Observers note that Barry Goldwater received over 800,000 votes in New York City last fall.)

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RFK Pushes Disarmament

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy placed himself squarely on the side of the "disarmers" last week when he called for the Johnson Administration to give top priority to checking the proliferation of nuclear weapons around the world. He said this subject was more important than the problems of Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic and Berlin.

Included in his recommendations to halt the spread of nuclear weapons was a worldwide treaty in which the nuclear powers would pledge not to transfer weapons' capabilities to non-nuclear nations and in which non-nuclear nations would promise not to develop atomic weapons. He also called for formally establishing nuclear free zones in Africa and Latin America, suggested unilaterally cutting back our present nuclear forces, and urged completion of "the partial test-ban agreement of 1963 by extending it to underground as well as above-ground tests."

What astounded some listeners was that Kennedy suggested we should give up any present plans we have of giving West Germany a greater role in an Atlantic nuclear force because the Soviets object to them.

Various Capitol pundits are sizing up the speech as another Kennedy attempt to ingratiate himself with the ultra-liberal faction of the Democratic party, which has developed a strong antipathy toward President Johnson primarily because of his intervention in both Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic. But military experts here also view it as the kick-off to a fresh campaign by the professional disarmers to seduce the United States into new and disastrous disarmament schemes.

Such a campaign is already being launched by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (USACDA) which is beating the drums for U.S. disarmament. In a recent article in the influential *Foreign Affairs* magazine, William C. Foster, director of USACDA, makes the amazing assertion we should begin shedding our nuclear armor even if the Chinese won't play follow the leader.

Says Foster: "A comprehensive test-ban treaty to which China did not accede would be better than none at all and should be acceptable to us . . . similarly, a non-proliferation agreement to which China did not accede would be better than none at all. And we could negotiate a freeze—even a substantial reduction—of strategic delivery systems without fear that we were compromising whatever nuclear capability was needed to deal with China."

The push, then, is on for new disarmament and the battlecry of the disarmers appears to be let's negotiate away our armament even if Red China does not negotiate away hers.

Peking Place

A pro-Red China film, *China!,* illegally brought into the United States, will be able to be shown in commercial houses across the country, courtesy of the U.S. Treasury Department.

The producer of the film, British author Felix Greene, was granted a license from the treasury—needed so he could show the film—even though treasury officials initially denied one to him and have since admitted they could have won their case to deny him one in court. (For analysis of the film, see Irene Corbally Kuhn's article on page 3.)

According to attorneys for the Treasury Department, Greene brought his film into the United States in defiance of regulations pursuant to the Trading With the Enemy Act. Under these regulations, no person, unless he has a U.S. Treasury license, can bring items purchased from Red China within America's borders.

Greene had paid $1,500 to the Red Chinese for film clips and other movie accessories but had no treasury permit to do so when he brought his propaganda product into the United States for viewing. Customs officials, apparently unaware that Greene had paid the Red Chinese in preparing his film, let the film in without objection.

The Treasury Department discovered the facts about the film and initially told Greene he couldn't show it since he had never obtained a Treasury Department license which would have permitted him to buy film from the Red Chinese.

The department, however, then began to water down its stand. First officials waived the license requirement so he could show the film in New York's Little Carnegie Theatre. Treasury officials apparently felt sorry for Greene, who said he would have been hurt financially if it couldn't be shown.

Then treasury officials relented completely, allowing him the license because similar licenses for buying film in Red China had been given such news-gathering organizations as NBC and CBS.

Critics point out the flaw in such reasoning: NBC and CBS are legitimate news-gathering agencies; Greene, however, wanted the license not for the purpose of gathering news, but making a profit on a film which portrays Communist China in a favorable light. Moreover, the license issued displays extreme favoritism to Greene; it applies retroactively since he had never attempted to get a license before he went to Red China.

In short, treasury officials, not Greene, are responsible for the showing in this country of Greene's picture on Red China.

YRs Stay Right

Conservatism triumphed at the Young Republican Convention in Miami last week, as some 560 YRs elected conservatives to every office and adopted a hard-line conservative platform.

The YRs opposed repeal of right-to-work, East-West trade, federal aid to education, Medicare and other federal spending schemes. The federation also endorsed a strong stand against communism in both Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic and called for repeal of the 1963 test-ban treaty which provides no on-site inspection inside the Soviet Union.

The new national chairman is Tom Van Sickle, a 27-year-old Kansas lawmaker and Goldwater supporter, who easily whipped his opponent, David Flaherty of North Carolina. Flaherty also claimed he was a conservative, but he got major support from liberal elements, including Pennsylvania's state GOP chairman, Craig Truax and Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.).

Signs of Inflation

While President Johnson's Administration continually reports that the nation's economic status is healthy and loudly denies any danger from inflation, other items appear indicating the contrary.

The U.S. Labor Department reports that the Consumer Price Index has advanced 3/10ths of one per cent through the month of April to a new record high.

Another item announced a precedent-shattering wage increase for the three basic building trade unions of southern California, including a total of almost 125,000 workers.

When confronted with these reports, the Administration attempted to minimize the importance of the Price Index advance. Sidney Jaffe, deputy assistant commissioner of the Department of Labor, tried to put the advance "in perspective" by blaming the increase on gas and food prices which he claims "fluctuate widely."

According to the highly respected publication, Weekly Labor Forecast and Review, **however, "no explanation can alter the fact that . . . the present figure is 1.4 per cent above the level of a year ago. . . ." This price increase will mean that businesses are compelled to increase wages one cent per hour for nearly one million workers under escalator clauses in labor contracts.**

"If this isn't inflation," the article concluded, "it's a reasonable facsimile."

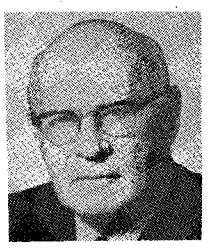
No amount of rationalization can hide the fact that the California building trades wage increase is also inflationary. The new contract calls for carpenters and cement masons to receive a hefty 87 cents per hour raise over a three-year period; the laborers receive $1.27 an hour over a five-year span. And furthermore, the pacts are subject to renegotiation after three years.

The implications of these two items are clear. When are government officials going to realize that they will some day "get the bill" for their inflationary measures, and will have to pay it?

CAPITOL CAMERA

• *Sidney's influential* Daily Herald *has said that it is a pity the new U.S. ambassador to Australia is a "razzle-dazzle" Texas banker rather than an expert on Southeast Asia. It observed the only apparent reason for the appointment of Edward A. Clark was his palship with LBJ.*

• Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N. Y.), powerful chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, has gone to Sen. Mike Monroney (D.-Okla.) and asked him to kill a measure to fund a House-Senate committee on immigration. The bill, which passed the House, is now before the Senate. The Joint Committee, if funded, would be a big blow to Celler's prestige, who has opposed its operation for some time now. The committee would be headed by his arch-rival in the House, Rep. Michael Feighan (D.-Ohio), who has long opposed Celler's immigration policies.



CELLER

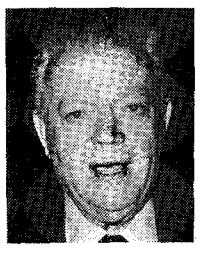
• *Compliance with the Supreme Court's 1954 decision on school segregation is lagging in LBJ's home state of Texas. More than 92 per cent of the Texas Negroes now in school attend segregated institutions.*

• Rep. John Anderson (R.-Ill.) has polled his constituents, finds them adamantly opposed to the "Great Society." Repeal of section 14b is opposed by more than 2 to 1. Creation of a federal Department of Urban Affairs is opposed 3 to 1. More than 94 per cent of those responding called for reductions in foreign aid. Nine out of 10 respondents backed a gradual withdrawal of the government from agriculture.

ANDERSON

• *The Dutch newspaper* Telegraaf *recently asked in an editorial why peace organizations did not stage "fierce demonstrations" against Red China's nuclear testing in the atmosphere. "As far as can be ascertained,", it said, "the explosion of the second Chinese atom bomb did not provoke a single reaction from all those peace movements."*

• David Dubinsky recently began his 34th year as president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union by accepting a salary raise to $31,000. A recent survey disclosed that more than 20 national unions are paying their presidents a salary exceeding $30,000. They include the National Maritime Union, $102,637; the Teamsters, $75,000; the Railway Clerks, $60,000; and the Operating Engineers, $55,000.



DUBINSKY

• *The New York* Times' *distinguished military editor, Hanson Baldwin, has warned that top Pentagon officials "express considerable worry that the gradual, piecemeal commitment of U.S. ground forces to South Viet Nam may be 'too little and too late,' and that at best it has merely been matching Communist increases in strength."*

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What Did Jesus Believe About Wealth?

The True Social Gospel Rejects Collectivism

By REV. IRVING E. HOWARD

Someone has observed that no generation of Americans has thought more about freedom than ours, and none has shown a greater readiness to abandon it. This is especially true in the realm of economics. The crux of the problem of economic freedom is the nature of wealth and man's right to it.

In view of this, it is important to consider what Jesus thought about wealth. Since He was concerned with life and since economics is involved in the whole of life, we should expect to find economic implications in the teachings of Jesus. This expectation is not disappointed.

Consider Jesus' parable of the laborers in the vineyard (Matthew 20: 1-6). Here is the story of an employer who hired a series of laborers at different hours of the day and at the end of the day paid them all alike. When those who had worked the longest complained because they had not been paid more than those who worked for an hour, the employer answered: "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with my own?"

Whatever theological meaning this parable may have, it clearly assumes that a man has a right to his property. This is not a surprising assumption for Jesus to have made, for it was a central idea in the Ten Commandments and was a part of the Judaism of Jesus' time.

Much so-called social legislation is in conflict with the teachings of Jesus on the question of property, for this kind of legislation is founded upon the assumption that a man's property or wealth belongs to the community, and that the community has a right to determine how it should be used. Jesus had a different idea; namely, that ultimately all property belongs to God.

Jesus also had a more constructive thought about the nature of wealth than "share the wealth." "Tax the rich" legislation assumes that there is a fixed amount of wealth which must be more evenly distributed throughout the economy if we are to have a "just" social order. Our Marxian graduated income tax operates upon that principle.

There are four ways to get property or wealth. It may be created by the sweat of one's brow or the use of one's talents. It may be traded for, received as a gift or taken by force.

In simpler days, when people were so naive as to believe the Ten Commandments, taking property by force was called "stealing." In more recent times, however, we have been led to think that what may be wrong for the individual is right for the government. According to this philosophy, if, by majority rule, the government takes property by force, the fact that the majority voted for it makes it, not an act of theft, but an expression of "social consciousness."

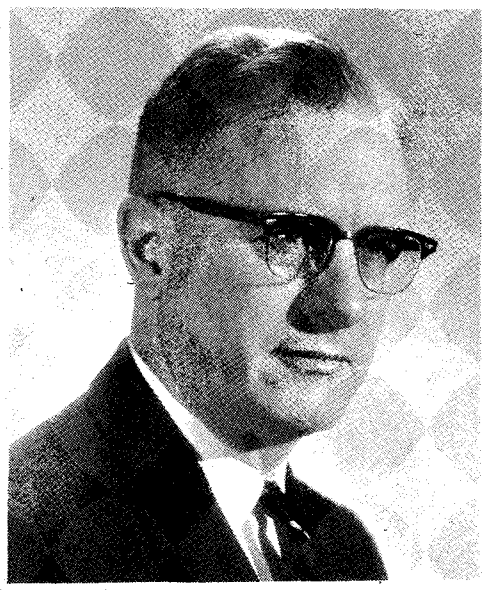
No one who is serious about the teachings of Jesus can ever be happy with this Socialistic teaching. Not only did Jesus not believe in stealing, He did not believe that wealth was static.

Study the parable of the 10 pounds. Here Jesus told the story of a nobleman who gave his 10 servants one pound each before He left for the far country. Upon his return, he called them to account. All but one had invested and increased his pound. This servant had hoarded his in fear that he might lose even that one pound. His lack of enterprise was condemned (Luke 19:11-28).

Thus from Jesus' point of view, if one man has less wealth than another, he may get more, not by *robbing the man who has more*, but by creating some for himself. The only limitation upon the amount of wealth in existence is in man's ingenuity for creation.

In this parable, the more the servants made on their investment, the more they were applauded, and there is no suggestion that there was anything immoral in their creation of wealth. Only sloth, fear and hoarding were condemned.

Jesus' attitude toward wealth was conditioned by an otherworldliness. He was not primarily interested in this present world, but in a world to come.



Says Rev. Irving Howard: "Man has inalienable rights to life, liberty and property, which rights no government can give and no government can take away."

Therefore, when a man came to Jesus saying: "Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me," Jesus rebuked the man and refused to be an equalizer of wealth. He continued by warning the man against covetousness.

Jesus had not heard about the Social Gospel, so his response to this challenge did not reveal an "enlightened social consciousness." It is odd that the covetousness Jesus warned against so frequently has been turned into a virtue by the Social Gospel and Social Action movement in the modern church. Jesus followed His warning against covetousness with the parable of the rich fool who built ever larger barns only to die suddenly, unprepared for eternity (Luke 12:13-21).

To Jesus, wealth was a threat to the soul of the possessor, not a problem to be solved by social engineering. His focal point was always upon the individual rather than the group. While what He said to the individual had wide social consequences, He always started with the individual. So how to use wealth was a problem for the individual to solve with a sense of stewardship to God.

Consider the rich young ruler who asked Jesus what he should do to inherit eternal life. Jesus recited the Ten Commandments, to which the rich young ruler replied: "I have kept these from my youth up." To prove that he had not understood the full implication of them, particularly the first, Jesus replied: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, give it to the poor . . . and follow me." Note that the point of emphasis in this incident was not upon the welfare of the poor, but upon the welfare of the rich young ruler's soul. He had made a god of wealth (Matthew 19: 16-26).

***Jesus was for neither the poor* nor the rich. He was for all men as individuals. Most of all, He was for their spiritual development and commanded charity as a means to that development. In Jesus' hands, the Old Testament doctrine of the sovereignty of God became a warm, personal faith in the providence of God.**

While expounding upon God's willingness to care for those who trust Him, Jesus enunciated one of the greatest truths of the New Testament: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you" (Matthew 6: 33).

Man's accountability to God in the use of his wealth obligates him to practice charity, which was the point of the story of Dives and Lazarus. The rich man in this story was punished, not because he was wealthy, but because he did not have compassion upon the beggar at his gate.

Nevertheless, there is no suggestion in this story that Lazarus had any claim upon the rich man's wealth (Luke 16: 19-31). Emil Brunner has stated it well in *Justice and the Social Order:* "[Man] is obliged, not by justice, but by compassion, to give to those who are in need out of what is entirely his property, but those in need have no right to it . . ."

The best-known example of Jesus' insistence upon charity is the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10: 25-37). A close examination of this story reveals that, while it was given in answer to the lawyer's question, "Who is my neighbor?" it answered an unasked question: "Who is it that acts neighborly?"

In *The Peril of Modernizing Jesus,* Dr. Henry Joel Cadbury made the point that Jesus shifted the emphasis from the recipient to the doer of the deed. The spirit of compassion was more important to Jesus than the act of getting a wounded man taken care of on the Jericho road.

These distinctions are vital. Too frequently we have made the mistake of thinking that Christian ethics are concerned only with the objective deed, the consequences, rather than with the subjective motivation.

Dr. W.A. Visser 't Hooft, secretary of the World Council of Churches, has criticized our American tendency in this regard: "When the objective deed is valued in the social result rather than in its motivation, it becomes possible to interpret a number of manifestations of social life as Christian (because of their apparent social value) that in the conception of ethics which stakes everything upon the inner attitude would never deserve the name.

"The greatest treason," said Thomas a Becket in Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral,* "is to do the right thing for the wrong reason." Much social welfare legislation provides us with examples of both wrong things and wrong reasons.

The teachings of Jesus are still relevant and contain the truth that makes men free. Man is a spiritual being, not a materialistic mechanism. Man is responsible to God beyond all other authorities. As such, man has inalienable rights to life, liberty and property, which rights no government can give and no government should take away. This is the true Social Gospel.

□ □ □

Pure What?

From the Arizona *Republic*

William Connell, administrative assistant to the vice president, has sent us a letter which starts, "Dear Friend." It encloses "a copy of one of the best ad lib speeches made by the vice president during the campaign last fall." Says Mr. Connell, "It is pure Hubert Humphrey."

The speech was delivered at the University of Washington on Oct. 30, 1964. It was filled with references to the trigger-happy Barry Goldwater, and it contained these interesting (in the light of subsequent developments) comments:

"Anybody can start a war. It doesn't take enough brains to come in out of the rain to do that. Anybody can do that. But it takes some understanding, it takes some conviction, it takes a sense of reason, it takes a decent attitude about people, it takes judgment, and it requires statesmanship, real statesmanship to pursue the tedious path and course of trying to find the way to peace.

". . . I believe that you have to go out and tell the people that you do not want a man as President who has a nervous finger on the nuclear trigger. You want a man as President who is calm, who is responsible, who has a record of experience and performance, who understands that war is not inevitable, that peace is the noblest pursuit of mankind. And that is my man, President Lyndon Johnson."

The foregoing does not describe President Johnson in the cold afterlight of Santo Domingo and Viet Nam. Just why the vice president's public relations man should decide to revive it at this time is a question that intrigues us. Could it be pure spite, as well as pure Hubert Humphrey?

In view of Vice President Humphrey's long record of being soft on communism, we imagine he would not have sent the Marines into Santo Domingo, or the Air Force bombers over North Viet Nam. If that isn't what he's trying to tell us now, by reviving a speech from last October, we don't know what he's trying to say.

Our own reaction is one of gratitude that the President did act firmly in these cases. For if he hadn't we think there would have been one more Communist country in the New World, and one more in Asia by now. There are times when failure to shoot from the hip can be expensive.

The Rev. Irving E. Howard, an ordained Congregational minister, is a Freedoms Foundation award winner. He is now on the staff of *Christian Economics*, in which the article originally appeared. "What Did Jesus Believe About Wealth?" was first reprinted in the June 4, 1955, issue of *Human Events*; it quickly became a best-seller and has appeared several times since then. Persistent demand causes us to reprint it once again.

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The League of Women Voters: Its Partisan Slip Is Showing

By TERRY CATCHPOLE

For a long time the League of Women Voters has presented itself as a non-partisan organization, but the author gives some cogent reasons why he feels this isn't the case. The League is already in the process of asking its members to make recommendations on candidates and policies for next year. Yet the chances are, as this article indicates, those who control the League won't even listen to what the members have to say. We suggest you pass it on to your friends, particularly those friends of yours in the League. It might be an eye-opener.

The League of Women Voters of the United States claims only 135,000 members throughout the nation. The organization does not go headline hunting, but prefers to work behind the scenes for legislation it champions; when it does speak out it is usually on the local level and concerns such topics as school boards or water pollution. Yet, the League is strong and effective enough to cause Sen. George Aiken (R.-Vt.) to remark: "Only 135,000 of them? I thought there were millions."

The LWV claims to be non-partisan and the educational material it publishes supposedly presents "both sides" of an issue. This policy is based on Article II of its bylaws: "The purpose of the League of Women Voters of the United States shall be to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government. The League may take action on governmental measures and policies in the public interest. It shall not support or oppose any political party or candidate."

Yet the League's policies are so definitely liberal and consistently left-of-center that Rep. James Utt (R.-Calif.) says "in my opinion the League of Women Voters is nothing but the 'ladies auxiliary' of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)."

To the casual observer the League appears to be a non-partisan group of nice ladies—old and young—interested in taking an active part in governmental affairs. To the elected official they are a force to be reckoned with, hard-working lady-lobbyists who are persistent in their demands. This often leads to compliance with their requests, for, as one GOP official says, "it is easier to try to get along with them and keep them off your back."

The elected officials also know what the casual observer may not realize: that the League of Women Voters is not exactly a non-partisan organization. As Congressman Utt's remark indicates, below the League's bland surface beats a heart of pure liberalism.

While this leftist attitude is obvious in everything which the National League does, it should be pointed out before going any further that it is not always this way on the local level. There are many women who join the League because they do want to be informed voters and want to work with their elected officials; these LWV members work hard to keep their local Leagues on a more moderate-conservative path and prevent their going off the deep end of extreme liberalism. Unfortunately, these members are not strong enough in number to break the iron grasp which the National League holds on major policy decisions.

As its bylaws state, the League has two principle policies: 1) It "may take action on governmental measures and policies in the public interest"; and 2) it "shall not support or oppose any political party or candidate."

As for the first—the action the League takes and its positions on major issues—they are consistently liberal and usually echoes of the Democratic party platform. This is no coincidence, either, for the "educational materials" the League publishes and distributes to its members are consciously directed to produce liberal conclusions on the issues involved.

And the selection of these positions is carried out by the National Board of the League, which rules the entire League with the stern hand of a dictator. The board sits in the Washington, D.C., headquarters and controls the whole decision-making process of the LWV: They write and distribute "educational materials," they choose the issues, they determine what stand to take, they also pick and choose quite easily the National Board members who will follow them—and no deviation by local Leagues is allowed. In the League of Women Voters, very few votes are taken . . . the National Board would rather do it itself.

The positions which the National League has taken on major issues and those questionable methods by which these positions were reached have caused the most frequent public criticism of the League.

But it is the second policy outlined in Article II—the one concerning non-endorsement of candidates or parties—that is the core of the League's claim to "non-partisanship." The National League's rampant liberalism and undemocratic operations will be discussed shortly, but it is important to show that even on this basic fundamental of non-partisanship, the League and its members do not always comply and sometimes let their liberal Democratic party bias show.

During a closely-contested congressional race in the South last year, for example, the local League, together with another supposedly "non-partisan" group, brought in a noted political science professor from a Northern university to speak on the "Two-Party System in the South." According to newspaper reports of the event, the body of the speech was fair and objective, but the professor's "aside" remarks and his answers to questions were anything but.

Frequently in his off-the-cuff statements the professor criticized the conservative Republican candidate (James D. Martin [R.-Ala.]) by name and, in one reporter's words, "made it clear that he preferred the liberal, Democratic party point of view."

This instance of the League's non-non-partisanship brought a critical editorial from the local newspaper and a sharp reply from the Republican candidate. The League, however, did not provide the GOP contestant (who, incidentally, won) with a forum for rebuttal to the hostile remarks; the professor's speech, which was heard by many hundreds, was accepted—unfortunately or not—as the position of the League of Women Voters in the congressional race.

This is, admittedly, a more blatant example of League members' partisanship. But other, more subtle means are used.

One of these methods is the questionnaire which the National League

Mrs. Robert J. Stuart, of Spokane, Wash., is the national president of the League of Women Voters.

supplies to all local Leagues for them to give to area congressional and senatorial candidates. As one Republican congressman from the East remarked, "My main objection to the League of Women Voters is to the loaded questionnaires which they distribute to candidates. The questions they ask are so worded that they demand a certain type of answer; these answers are then printed in the League's election information as being my position on the subject, when it is only my reply to their loaded questions."

The customary policy in these questionnaires is to use the tactic of pre-supposition. The writers of the questions will assume something is desirable—such as federal government welfare programs, for example—and then ask how the candidate thinks this program can be improved. They do not ask whether or not there should be a welfare program in the first place; thus the candidate who responds that we should not improve it but abolish it or cut it down, is put in a bad light.

It would be much fairer and simpler for all involved if the League just asked candidates to make a statement on a specific subject, such as foreign aid, rather than sticking them with loaded questions. One congressman said that he had written the local League asking if he could do this rather than answer their questions, but he received no reply. The questionnaires also give an example of the National League's domination of its member Leagues: The local cannot alter in any way the questionnaires written by the National for congressional candidates.

The deceptive technique of pre-supposition is perfectly exemplified in a question asked contestants for state representative by the Manchester (N.H.) local League. The question read: "There are existing programs for improved mental health and educational services in the state for which there is insufficient revenue. How do you think these programs should be financed? Do you think existing programs are adequate to meet future state needs? Please explain."

This query, with its flat statement of assumption in the first sentence, brought interesting responses from candidates. One Republican, an incumbent in the state legislature, replied "I do not know where you get the information that there is insufficient revenue. Serving in Concord, I know there is enough revenue to handle the mental health and education services."

A liberal Democrat answered "If revenue is insufficient, your question is still ambiguous. Do mental health and education belong to the same category or the same question? . . . Your assumptions are not necessarily correct. They put words in the candidate's mouth that are not his."

A surprising reply indeed from a Democrat, but one which shows that the League's trickery on its questionnaires is beginning to unnerve even those they are trying to help.

Similar in technique to the questionnaires are the "candidate's nights" which the League sponsors to provide contestants for elective office a forum to air their views. These programs are moderated by a League member and, although the public is invited, a majority of the audience usually turns out to be ladies of the League; therefore, the questions asked at the "candidate's night" are, according to reports from a sampling of congressmen, embarrassing to the Republican and a build-up for the Democrat.

Such lengthy descriptions of such seemingly harmless things as the questionnaires and the "candidate's nights" are necessary because they are among the League's most effective weapons. The candidate's answers to the questionnaire are printed in the election information pamphlets which each local League publishes; these replies are widely distributed and read by countless thousands in each area, and the readers accept the questions as objective—which they often are not.

Because of the League's use of loaded questions, many congressmen and senators refuse to answer the questionnaires or attend the candidate's nights and the local Leagues sometimes play this up.

(Continued on next page)

The 'educational materials' the League publishes and distributes to its members are consciously directed to produce liberal conclusions on the issues involved.

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". . . Below the League's bland surfa

GOP officials say a candidate in the West a few years ago refused to answer the League's questions and was rewarded a few days later with a large newspaper advertisement, sponsored by the good ladies of the League, which pointed out that this man had refused to answer their questionnaire and asked: "WHAT HAS HE GOT TO HIDE?"

But it is on the question of the positions it takes on national and international issues, and the dictatorial conduct of the LWV National Board in the selecting, wording and nature of the positions, that the League is most reprehensible in its tactics.

The "National Program" of the LWV —the list of their current stands on issues —is composed of two general sections: the "Current Agenda," which contains a list of specific "governmental issues chosen by the Convention for concerted action," and the "Continuing Responsibilities," which are broadly stated "positions on national issues to which the League has given sustained attention and on which it may continue to act."

One needs look no further than the League's "National Program—1964-1965," adopted at its convention last April, to see that charges of League liberalism are well-founded.

This wholehearted, unyielding liberalism becomes even more apparent in quotations from League publications concerning the different issues. Perhaps no better example can be found than the League's stand on the United Nations. The Current Agenda says simply that the LWV will give its "support of U.S. policies which strengthen the U.N. system and its ability to keep the peace." But this support goes much further: these ladies love the U.N., will accept nothing short of the U.N. and damned be those who say otherwise.

Not only does the League urge uncritical support of the United Nations, but "greater use of the World Court." To this end, it seeks repeal of the tried and trusted Connally Amendment, which, sanely enough, prevents the United States from being hauled up before the World Court without U.S. consent. It would be preposterous for the United States to relinquish its sovereignty to the World Court for a number of reasons, but particularly so because the court contains jurists from Red and rabidly anti-American nations. The League, however, is apparently oblivious to the dangers of consigning America's fortunes to such a "court."

Total support is also given the U.N.'s technical agencies, especially the left-leaning UNESCO, which not so long ago published a booklet which asserted "It was the Communist party which showed the peoples of Russia the true way to free themselves from social national oppression."

In fact, the League is such a supporter of the United Nations that it regrets United States participation in such anti-Communist and military regional organizations as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In 1947, a brochure admits, the league "reluctantly supported U. S. membership in NATO."

On the question of Red China's admission to the United Nations, the League has no official position, but does subtly attempt to soothe anxieties about such a prospect: "If Red China is eventually admitted, to what extent would it add to the threat of Communist control? There are now 10 nations in the Soviet bloc in the United Nations. Any resolution passed by the General Assembly must get at least a majority vote. If a measure has the status of an 'important question' it must get a two-thirds vote to pass. How, then, could the Soviet bloc control a 104-nation body, even if the bloc be increased by admission of Red China?"

The thought that Red China's entrance into the United Nations could be a great boon to the Communist bloc never seems to cross the League's collective mind. Why doesn't the League stress to its members the probability that Red Chinese delegates would intimidate diplomats from insecure and smaller member-nations; or that they would subvert some of the better U. N. specialized agencies; or that they would, like the Russians, use the U. N. to recruit espionage agents and spy upon the United States? Nor, apparently, is the League bothered by the fact that the United Nations has branded Red China an aggressor, and has, therefore, a moral duty to make an example of an aggressor country by barring it from membership in a supposed peace organization.

But this isn't the League's only dogmatic position. The LWV, for example, has made some rather interesting comments about the subject of East-West trade. While the LWV is still "studying" the matter and has not taken a forthright position on the subject, in actual fact the League's brochures and pamphlets make it crystal clear where it stands.

In a 1962 regular monthly pamphlet, "Facts & Issues," generously sprinkled with quotes from such "objective" observers as Secretary of State Dean Rusk and left-wing diplomat George Kennan, the League informs us that Poland and Yugoslavia are "not controlled by international Communist conspiracy." This, in spite of the fact Poland at this time had concluded an arms agreement with North Viet Nam and in spite of the fact that Yugoslavia's Tito was voting with the Soviet bloc in the United Nations.

A closing statement in this publication more or less wraps up the LWV attitude on East-West trade and, at the same time, shows why we should not look upon the League as a deep-think outfit: "And as trade with our friends enhances friendship, so trade with our enemies might serve to minimize enmity."

Over the years since the U.S. foreign aid program began, the League of Women Voters has normally gone down the line with the Administration in office on aid funds. This year was an exception, with the League believing that President Johnson should have requested more than $3.38 billion.

One other criticism voiced by congressmen to the LWV's backing of foreign aid is that they will accept no qualifying amendments to the program. "Try to cut off aid to Nasser," an aide to a New England senator said, "and they will be on your back."

The second half of the League's "National Program—1964-1965" is made up of the "Continuing Responsibilities," consisting of issues which receive "sustained attention" from the LWV.

The question of "Tax Rates" recieves continued comment from the ladies; they will always be in "opposition to constitutional limitations on tax rates." In other words, a nice, steep income tax for everyone, everywhere, always and always.

The League is also opposed to "constitutional changes that would limit the existing powers of the Executive and the Congress over foreign relations." This position brought it into sharp opposition to the Bricker Amendment, which was devised to prevent the President from making a treaty which would violate our Constitution. The League's National Board concluded arbitrarily that "the interests of the United States are best served by a foreign policy based on the principle of international cooperation" and opposed the Bricker Amendment. (The full story on this decision will be described below.)

The LWV statement on the vital subject of "Loyalty-Security" does not say much that is revolutionary; the League favors "common sense" and stands four-square behind loyalty and security. In a brochure discussion of this issue, however, it goes a bit further: "The League believes that national security and individual liberty would both benefit by limiting the coverage of the loyalty-security programs to sensitive positions." (It does not define "sensitive.") Also, "The League opposes any extension of the programs, such as proposals to cover employes of the legislative or judicial branches of the government or to private employes in defense-related industries."

An interesting note to this discussion of loyalty-security is that the League of Women Voters does not encourage its members to make any study of communism, and publishes no material on the subject (the pamphlets on loyalty-security hardly mention the word "communism.")

When asked why this was so, a member of the National League's press relations staff replied: "Well, there is just so much to study, we can't cover everything."

The current "National Program" of the League is, then, strictly left-of-center and, if not a word-for-word echo of the Democrats' national platform, is at least interchangeable with it.

So we have the program; next comes the question on everybody's tongue: Just how does the League, a non-partisan group, it says, arrive at such a series of positions, so definitely partisan? Easy: the National Board makes all the decisions.

Under normal circumstances, the local Leagues supposedly "study" the topics on which the League will take a position. But who carefully selects the literature the local members will read? The National Board. It is right here, at the initial step of "education" for making a decision, that the League of Women Voters' liberal political attitude comes to the surface.

The "Current Agenda" for '64-'65, for example, shows the League is interested in the "Development of Human Resources," a broad category which, presumably, will eventually lead to positions on poverty, civil rights and other connected legislation.

In a bibliography on "Human Resources" provided local members by the national headquarters in Washington, D.C., is a list of "suggested readings" for the ladies all across the land. In this list are 93 different readings—books, studies, magazine articles purporting to present "all sides" of the subject.

Of these 93, less than 10 could be classed as conservative writings, while the remainder are overwhelmingly liberal.

Included here are such luminaries of the left as Michael Harrington, a leader of the Socialist party; Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish Socialist and avowed anti-Constitutionalist; ADA founder, Vice President Hubert Humphrey; and James B. Conant, a champion of federal aid to education. Featured also are articles from the *New Republic* and *Commentary* and a couple of reports from the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (formerly Fund for the Republic).

It is on the question of the position it takes on national and international issues, and the dictatorial conduct of the LWV National Board in the selecting, wording and nature of positions, the League is most reprehensible in its tactics.

Many women join th to be 'informed and activ . . . they are not being 'in brainwashed by their Nat.

If this suggested reading list is predominantly leftist in make-up, the literature which the National League itself publishes is no better.

One League-produced publication on "Human Resources" goes overboard in the way it embraces that leftist theory of psychology commonly known as "behaviorism" or "environmentalism" (i.e., arguing that it is a person's surroundings, not his character or heredity, which causes him to act the way he does); it is this theory which leads liberal sociologists to say that criminals are "misunderstood" and that "society is to blame for their crimes."

Well, along this same line, the League pamphlet entitled "Prospects for Education and Employment" explains why poor children cannot read with this nifty bit of non-think:

"A child from the slums is not surrounded by the toys, books, magazines and breathing space of most middle-class homes . . . Often he has never taken even a short trip beyond his immediate neighborhood. Yet he is expected to learn to read from books about well-dressed children who sleep in their own beds in suburbia and travel miles to see Grandma. Not too sur-

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prisingly children of the poor frequently do not learn to read well in the early grades . . ."

The line of reasoning here is that children will only become interested in learning to read if they read about things familiar to their environment. How, then, would the League like to explain the fact that millions of children have become literate by reading about King Arthur and Peter Rabbit without ever

The late Mrs. R. Templeton Smith was president of the disaffiliated Allegheny County (Pa.) League.

having donned an armored breastplate or been tossed into a briar patch?

(A sidelight on this pamphlet: A League staff member proudly boasted that one of Sargent Shriver's "war on poverty" aides has called it "one of the best pamphlets he had ever seen on the subject of poverty.")

In this manner of selection of suggested reading and the wording of its

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own pamphlets, the National League of Women Voters can quite easily control the thinking of local members and the direction of their work on different projects.

The unfortunate thing about this is that many women join the League because they want to be "informed and active" participants in government. They accept the pamphlets and the books suggested for reading as being objective and covering all sides, in line with what they believe to be the LWV's "non-partisanship"; but they are not being "informed," they are being brainwashed by their National Board.

One outcome of this "education" is that when local League members sit down with congressmen to present their view, they discover they do not know the entire story behind the program involved; as Rep. Passman said about foreign aid, "they have no understanding of the true facts."

Another congressman, a member of the liberal Republican "Wednesday Club," described the situation this way:

"One criticism I have of the League of Women Voters is that the local members slavishly follow the line laid down by the national headquarters. The National Board sends out their 'poop sheets' on issues and the local members swallow it whole; there is no effort on the part of the local members to examine the issue on their own, nor is this encouraged from National. Then I have to sit down with the local people and explain the other side of the issue."

These congressmen's remarks lead to what is, perhaps, the most important criticism of the League of Women Voters: the domination which the National Board holds over the local Leagues and their members.

One woman, a veteran of many years in the League, concluded that "The National Board commands, controls, and directs to the point at which the individual unit leagues become instruments toward an objective which they themselves have had little part in determining."

The National Board's domination of the entire League is exercised throughout the process of selecting, wording and passing the "National Program." It is a procedure which holds out to the local members the feeling that, somehow, they are involved; at each step of the way, however, it is the National Board which makes the final decisions.

The local members have absolutely no way of finding out why these decisions were made; the recourse they have to alter a Board decision on the program is so filled with parliamentary roadblocks that changes, understandably, are seldom made.

The selection of a National Program begins in August of the year before a National Convention (held biennially in even-numbered years). At that time the National Board issues the "call to convention" to all members and gives deadlines for submitting suggestions for the Program.

By November all proposals are in and Board members begin evaluation. All this may seem "democratic," but at the January meeting the Board, then, arbitrarily works out a "Proposed Program" for adoption at the national convention. The local members are never told what happened to their suggestions or why they were not used. No break-down is given as to how the members felt on certain issues.

The Board then sends its own nondemocratically selected program to the local Leagues for two to three weeks' study. The Leagues then make recommendations. Will the local Leagues' recommendations determine the nature of the Board's Proposed Program? Not at all.

When the recommendations are in, notes a League pamphlet, "the Board evaluates these comments and *may* revise the Proposed Program" (emphasis added). The Board *may* revise, but can just as easily ignore.

At the League of Women Voters' national convention, which normally takes place in late April, the Board's Proposed Program is finally brought up for floor debate. Well, maybe here the local delegates can determine the stand the League takes on controversial issues. Such an occurrence would be a rarity.

For the only items that can be considered for addition to the Proposed Program at this time are those which were suggested by local members four and a half months before the convention. And these suggestions cannot be adopted unless they are accepted by a whopping three-fifths of the convention! The Board's own Proposed Program, however, becomes official policy when only a majority of the convention delegates endorse it.

There is, then, never any vote among members of the local Leagues on the Proposed Program. The National Board sends the Program out for the local's study, but if the members wish to make any alterations, their delegate to the convention must rally support and get a three-fifths majority for adoption.

This, the LWV claims, "is in line with the League's democratic procedures."

The question of how the National Board finally decides what position to take on what issues in the Proposed Program revolves around that mystical word often used by the League, "consensus" (LBJ's?) . While the local members send in their suggestions and the delegates vote on the Program at the convention, it is the National Board members who arbitrarily decide where there "is a wide area of agreement among the membership" and selects the final Program which is placed before the convention—with little fear of defeat.

The National Board can also take a position on controversial issues under a nebulous "Continuing Responsibility" clause in the LWV bylaws. Under this clause, the Board "has the responsibility of interpreting the legislative and administrative situation and League readiness for action," even though a piece of legislation may never have been studied or discussed by the League members.

An example which shows how the Board exercises this broad power, and also shows the Board's disregard for its members' opinions, concerns the League's opposition to the Bricker Amendment in the early '50s.

At the 1952 convention the League delegates had discussed the constitutional amendment just introduced in the Senate by Sen. John Bricker (R.-Ohio), aimed at preventing the President from making a foreign treaty in violation of the Constitution.

No action came of the discussion at the '52 convention and over the next year and a half the National LWV headquarters sent out their usual "educational" material on the subject, expecting that a definite position would be taken at the 1954 convention.

When it appeared, however, that the Bricker Amendment would come to a Senate vote in February 1954, and stood a good chance of passage, the League National Board decided not to wait until the convention. On Jan. 13, 1954, Mrs. John G. Lee, National LWV President, wrote President Eisenhower saying the *entire* League of Women Voters was steadfastly opposed to the Bricker Amendment "as not only unnecessary but as dangerous for the future security of our country."

This move by the National president, at once undemocratic and untrue, outraged League members across the country. Nowhere was the outcry louder than in Bricker's native Ohio. Two newspapers in that state, the Cincinnati *Enquirer* and Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, featured articles investigating the National League's methods in reaching a "consensus" on this issue. Among the findings:

• In Shaker Heights, Ohio, less than 10 per cent of the local League's 700-odd members were asked their opinion of the amendment.

• In Cleveland Heights, with over 300 members, no poll was taken.

• On January 27, two weeks after the National's announcement, the Cincinnati League declared its opposition; three weeks later the Cincinnati Board asked its members to study the amendment . . . *for the first time.*

A further instance of ignoring League members—this time strictly on the local level—occurred in Miami, Fla., three years ago.

At that time there was a great controversy over amendments to the Dade County (Miami) charter, which would have limited the powers of the non-elected county manager of the county's revolutionary Metro system of government. At the height of the public debate a League of Women Voters spokesman declared the Miami League's opposition to the amendments.

When she was asked if the League had taken a vote to decide this position, the spokesman replied, "I don't know why you would ask a question like that . . . the League of Women Voters does not believe that a democratic vote is necessary"; instead, she said, they relied on "consensus."

Commenting on this unusual concept of democratic principles, a Miami journalist observed, "The League of Women Voters, it seems, thinks poorly of letting its women voters vote."

The dictatorial control the National Board has over local Leagues was the direct reason for one entire local disaffiliating from the National.

In 1948 the National Board asked the local League in Pittsburgh, Pa., to change its name from the Allegheny County League of Women Voters to the League of Women Voters in Allegheny County, and to make other minor word changes in its bylaws to conform "in letter" with the National bylaws.

The Pittsburgh women, all long-time League members, refused to do this, stating that "we believe that demands of changes in word order and few adjectives or adverbs smacked of regimentation, of 'heiling' when the drum was beaten in Washington."

They added, however, that "to us the real schism—the real cleavage between Allegheny County and National—is over the issue of dictating the views of League members on national and international questions and on the dissemination of 'packaged thinking.' Allegheny County has been too independent. We want no canned or packaged philosophy—no matter how pretty the wrapping."

As a result, the Allegheny County League was told to comply with the National's orders; they refused and were expelled. After a court case was settled in their favor, the Pittsburgh group was allowed to keep the title "League of Women Voters," mainly because they had organized and adopted the title before the National organization was even founded.

The causes for this split were only half of the story, however; the high-handed, secretive manner in which the National Board carried out the disaffiliation was even more reprehensible.

The Board met on Nov. 8-12, 1948, and voted to expel the Allegheny County group, but told no one concerned about

(Continued on next page)

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The League of Women Voters has a history of affinity for liberal causes.

this action. On December 15, the National League issued a press release concerning the expulsion; the Pittsburgh members read about this the next day in the newspapers— *for the first time.*

It was not until December 17 that the National president saw fit to let the Pittsburgh president know of National's action.

Meanwhile, the Pennsylvania LWV State Board, which had voted to expel Allegheny County before National and, besides, knew of National's action, had nevertheless requested $750 in dues from Allegheny as its share in running the state headquarters . . . but never mentioned their expulsion.

Is this incident also "in line with the League's democratic procedures?"

As one might expect with an organization with such a strong, powerful National Board, the elections to this body are not exactly a picture of democracy in action. In fact, in the election process we find, once again, that the National Board is dominant.

The 16 members of the National Board are nominated by the powerful Nominating Committee. And the convention delegates usually buy the entire proposed slate. (Of course, there is always the provision that alternative nominations can be made from the floor requiring only the candidate's approval. But the time involved in organizing, selecting a candidate and rounding up support makes the possibility of electing anyone from the floor extremely difficult. Indeed, it has happened only once in the League's 45-year history.)

If what the Nominating Committee says goes, then who controls it?

This standing committee is composed of just five persons. *Two must be from the National Board and are appointed by it.* The other three are elected. Thus, the two Board members on the Nominating Committee can completely control it if only one of the three elected committee officials sides with them. And the results over the years prove the Board has little trouble in controlling the Nominating Committee.

In discussing the League of Women Voters with Republicans of Capitol Hill, the author was told by some that the best way to change the LWV from a liberal, Democrat-oriented organization to a more moderate, truly nonpartisan one, would be for conservative Republican women to get in and change it.

Simple and nice as it sounds, it is not easily done, mainly because of the above-described nomination-election procedures.

As a matter of fact, when the Allegheny County League disaffiliated, its president, Mrs. R. Templeton Smith, wrote that "you may ask why we did not stay in the organization and work to purge it of its ills. We have tried for years to be heard but find ourselves so isolated behind a wall of disfavor that our voices never reach outside. We believe it is only by going outside the organization that we can function with full effectiveness in our objective of educating, not directing the woman citizen."

The League is always boasting, however, about how well both Republican and Democratic women can work together toward common goals within the organization. The LWV encourages its members to actively participate in their own political parties (National officers can not, however), but the League itself, remember, is non-partisan and encompasses both parties and they all work lovingly side by side, Republicans and Democrats.

How accurate are these "working together" statements? If the League is a fair, representative, democratic organization, its National Board should reflect the politics of the nation as a whole.

A check was made of the party registration of each present National Board member with the individual's local county or city election board.

What was found was that of the 16 Board members, two **are registered Republicans,** 10 **are registered Democrats, and the other 4 are unregistered, but, except for the president, active Democrats. Following is a rundown:**

- President: Mrs. Robert J. Stuart, Spokane, Wash.; unregistered (Washington state does not require party registration).
- First Vice President: Mrs. William H. Wood, Bladensburg, Md.; Democrat.
- Second Vice President; Mrs. William S. Morgan, Norman, Okla.; Democrat.
- Secretary, Mrs. Tyler Shinn, Ormond Beach, Fla.; Democrat.
- Treasurer: Mrs. Hans-Arnold Fraenkel, Hartsdale, N.Y.; Democrat.

Directors:

- Mrs. John Campbell, Indianapolis, Ind.; Democrat.
- Mrs. William M. Christopherson, Louisville, Ky. ; Democrat.
- Mrs. Louis Hirsch, Tuscon, Ariz., Democrat.
- Mrs. Vernon C. Stoneman, Belmont, Mass.; Democrat.
- Mrs. Robert Zurbach, Pasadena, Calif.; Democrat.
- Mrs. Haskell Rosenblum, Washington, D.C.; Democrat.
- Mrs. John F. Toomey, Narrangansett, R.I.; unregistered, but, according to a Narragansett Town Hall official, "very active in the Democratic party."
- Mrs. Colin J. Macdonald, Dallas, Tex.; unregistered (Texas does not require party registration) but has voted regularly in Democratic party primaries.
- Mrs. W. Eugene Pharis, Webster Groves, Mo.; unregistered (Missouri does not require party registration) but is an active Democrat and was once an assistant to Sen. Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.).
- Mrs. Kirt E. Montgomery, Eugene, Ore.; Republican.
- Mrs. John D. Kenderdine, Holtwood, Pa.; Republican.

It would seem safe to assume, in view of this line-up, that the 13 Democrats find it very easy "working together" with the two Republicans on the National Board.

Perhaps, however, we shouldn't expect much other than a liberal bias from the League, considering its origins.

The woman who first conceived the idea of the League of Women Voters, and served as a guiding spirit in its early days, was Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. Mrs. Catt was president of the National American Women's Suffrage Association from 1915 until her death in 1947; at the NAWSA convention in 1919, with the right-to-vote for women secured, she proposed the formation of a new organization to educate women on politics and get them active in government. And the League of Women Voters was born.

In the early '50s the League, together with various other liberal organizations, participated in the "Freedom Agenda" program. Ostensibly this was

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, founder of the League of Women Voters, was a member of several ultra-liberal front groups.

a "series of community discussions of various aspects of the Bill of Rights and individual liberty."

"Freedom Agenda" was not as harmless as it sounds and the literature it distributed (mostly published by the League's CCC Fund) was found by the Westchester County (N.Y.) American Legion to be "designed to further the delusion that the danger of communism is non-existent . . . [and to] allege that the various governmental procedures that have been set up to protect us against communism are a suppression of our constitutional freedom."

During her long and active political life, Mrs. Catt found herself keeping some strange company on the far left. During the time of the Spanish Civil War in the late '30s she was associated with the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, later identified by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as "one of the numerous Communist-front enterprises which were organized around the Communists' agitation over the Spanish Civil War."

Mrs. Catt was also listed in the Feb. 10, 1944, issue of the *Daily Worker* as a sponsor of the Committee of Women of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, another Red front. Earlier, in 1942, she had joined a committee to petition on behalf of notorious West Coast pro-Communist labor leader Harry Bridges.

Writing 11 years ago, a noted political scientist, Dr. Felix Wittmer, listed several other women affiliated in varying degrees with the League of Women Voters who also had a history of Communist—front activities.

Local Leagues have had their own flirtations with the far left in the past. In 1938 the New York City League opposed a bill which would have barred from public school teaching any person who believed in the violent overthrow of the U.S. government; in 1954, the LWV of Illinois voiced opposition to a similar bill in that state. Defeat of both these pieces of legislation was a *cause celebre* for the Communists.

While direct association with the Communist left is rare in League history, its continuous championing of blind liberalism has led it to some uncomfortable moments. But if these links are uncommon, playing footsie with notable non-Communist leftists is not.

In 1947 the LWV set up a Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund (CCC Fund) to serve as an "educational" subsidiary of the organization, to publish pamphlets and other material. In its early years the CCC Fund was heavily financed by donations from the Fund for the Republic, the pro-disarmament, anti-military "think" group which now masquerades under the title "Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions."

Two other groups which the League of Women Voters has been associated with in the past are the Women's Joint Congressional Committee and the Program Information Exchange. Both of these bodies were composed of member organizations—such as the LWV—and their purpose in both cases was to disseminate legislative information and "educational" materials supporting federal government welfare legislation and other liberal schemes.

As for what other organizations the League is working with now, members of its Washington staff say only that they will work with "groups whose goals are the same as ours." This does, of course, invariably mean left-wing groups such as the United Nations Association (formerly American Association for the U.N.) and the American Civil Liberties Union.

On numerous occasions the League has worked closely with organized labor, including the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education and other Democrat-biased union adjuncts.

It is, then, on both the educational and active levels of the League that it is markedly left-of-center. It is definitely not a "non-partisan" organization working only toward "informed and active participation of citizens in government." It is a liberal pressure group which misleads its members and ignores their opinions on issues.

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What Is the Secret of West Germany's Success?

By LUDWIG ERHARD, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany

During a conversation with Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, head of the German government, shortly before he conferred with President Johnson, Columnist Victor Riesel asked Mr. Erhard how his nation became the world's most prosperous land after so devastating a defeat 20 years ago. How did it develop an economy which has a million jobs open, waiting for workers from any part of the world? Here is the chancellor's reply as he submitted it in writing to Riesel. It is the first time Mr. Erhard has put himself on record in an exclusive interview with an American newspaperman.

All over the world today, socialism is still being offered as a ready-made answer to economic and political problems. And yet such a solution is illogical in light of what is happening today in Europe and America.

In the past, socialism was an attempt to provide an answer to the social injustices and economic crises caused by the industrial revolution and the rise of capitalist economies. As far as Germany is concerned—and I know this is true of other countries as well—these crises have been largely overcome.

And as for the remaining problems, we now know how they are to be solved. The fact is that Germany, like most Western democracies, is no longer a society of class conflict and exploitation but a community that has found democratic equilibrium and social and economic balance.

Socialist philosophy cannot answer the problems all of us face today. This is true even of democratic socialism which—in contrast to communism—has come around to recognizing the pluralism of our society, the freedom to own property and parliamentary democracy itself.

It was not socialism that built a new Europe and a new Germany out of the ashes of war. It was not Socialist theory that forged a democratic alliance among the North Atlantic nations for the defense of our liberties; that created the Common Market and thus ended ancient continental rivalries; that set aside billions of dollars for aid to Asian and African countries; that absorbed 13 million penniless refugees from behind the Iron Curtain into Germany, including many hundreds of thousands of workers fleeing from the "workers' paradise" of communism.

The world speaks of the German miracle, but I see it as a natural and logical development that came out of individual cooperation, freedom and opportunity. This unity was one of the causes of our rapid economic recovery.

Another was the decision to free our economy from all restrictions and red tape. This freedom to let our economy grow organically did not, as some then believed, imperil our society, but on the contrary, was its best guarantee for the security of all.

In the true democratic tradition of government guidance rather than dominance, we "shaped" our society so it could be in a position to answer the needs of the people for housing, clothing, food, transportation. We instituted measures to protect one segment of the population from another. We limited self-interest and set up rules to stabilize government and inspire confidence. We tried to use wisely the generous aid given by the United States to get us going along the path of democracy under the Marshall Plan.

West Germany's chief Ludwig Erhard, a staunch advocate of free enterprise, tells how Germany recovered from the destruction of World War II by applying free market economic principles.

Frankly, we were surprised by how much a free people can accomplish in so short a time. Although our country is torn in two, the free part of Germany now produces more than twice as much steel and over 11 times the amount of cars and trucks as it did in pre-war Germany.

With our new economic methods of producing wealth and consuming it equitably, we have created 27 million jobs (half our total population), not only for German citizens, but for a million workers coming from a dozen countries stretching from Turkey to Spain.

Almost 40 per cent of the German work force are women who receive equal pay for equal work, a provision written into our constitution. And there are another million jobs still unfilled, which is the reason we are called an "overemployed" country.

Seventeen years ago it was considered radical to give unrestricted freedom and economic opportunity to the people, but we felt our policies would set free the inherent energies of all individuals who yearn to build a present and a future for themselves and their families. We could not, of course, gauge the extent to which this yearning for freedom would build a society of material wealth and cultural enjoyment.

No one can deny that we are in the midst of a serious challenge to our society and our way of life. This means not only Germany but all those countries on both sides of the Atlantic that have developed a system of advanced technology combined with social security.

The essence of the challenge is not military power—but whether the free society of the West can develop and grow at a more rapid pace and in a more fruitful manner than the society established by the Communists in Eastern Europe and Asia.

I believe we shall be able to do it by completing what I call the "dynamic society," a society with a constantly growing technology in which individual citizens voluntarily work for the common good as well as for themselves, a society in which responsibility is the corollary of freedom.

Only this kind of society will be able to meet the challenge which we face from those who are bent on erasing individual freedom and exalting communal effort beyond natural bounds.

Only then will we be able to shape our future so that the new countries of Asia and Africa will follow our example. They will do this only if our society will appear to them to have more solid values, and to be more progressive and productive than the Communist system.

This has been the case in the past, and it must be the goal for the future.

(Distributed 1965
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Inflation Takes Its Toll

From the Nashville *Banner*

When the dollar shrinks in purchasing power, the first and greatest sufferers are those low income families—or persons—with the fewest available for the necessities of life. These include, note it, the aged and the widows—and people with fixed incomes from whatever sources, including their life savings. It is there inflation hits most savagely and most tragically.

It still is hitting.

The Labor Department reports that consumer prices edged up to 109.3 per cent last month. What that means is that it cost more than $1.09 for what $1 would purchase in the 1957-59 period, the base point of this comparison. In that period, for the person on fixed income, it means that almost 10 per cent of his or her income has been purloined by inflation. There is no cost-of-living adjustment for them.

A major factor in that is the increased tempo of government costs. That is where inflation begins, and that is where the war on it must start.

□ □ □

HARTLEY ON 14B—The co-author of the Taft-Hartley Act, former Congressman Fred Hartley (R.-N. J.), has charged that labor leaders who seek the repeal of Section 14b are motivated only by money. Legalization of the union shop throughout the country would greatly enrich union treasuries, Hartley said in a statement filed with a House special subcommittee on labor.

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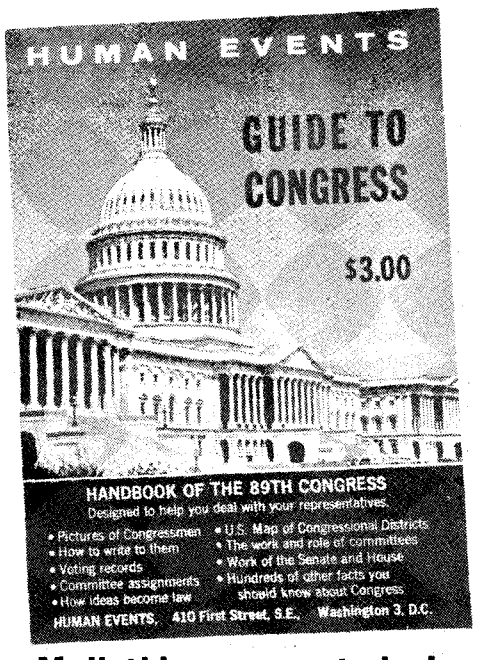
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U Thant Would Replace Free Market with Political Control

By EMERSON P. SCHMIDT

The attack on the free market made by Secretary General U Thant at the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development in Switzerland in the opening speech (March 23, 1964) went almost unnoticed in the United States and in other Western countries. To U Thant the market is blind, deaf and dumb. It favors the rich and damages the poor. It must be replaced by political control, indeed international political control.

The drift toward total political and governmental control of production and distribution continues world-wide, thereby distorting and thwarting output and impairing human freedom. A few halting steps, relaxing controls in the totalitarian countries are announced on occasion.

In the so-called free economies, controllism is nevertheless expanding. The USSR and its satellities speak now and then of private incentives and even using the profit motive and profit measure to spark greater output. But these are rare cases. They do not point toward any genuine dawning light, or any full liberation of market forces. Meantime we are financing attacks on our freedom via our support of the United Nations, and without raising any effective voice in opposition.

Speaking of the unfortunate disparity of income among the peoples of different countries, U Thant asked, "How long shall we permit blind economic forces to control human relations on the untenable thesis that the social sciences may not be capable of advancement similar to the progress achieved by the physical sciences?" This analogy is a good example of the economic determinism usually implicit in the arguments of economic planners; but here it is explicit. If man were but an atom or a molecule, we might manipulate him, just as in "the physical sciences."

Mr. Schmidt, now retired, was for almost 20 years director of economic research for the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

U Thant also asserted that the United Nations had for years urged its member countries to give high priority "to integrated economic and social planning," and of course such planning, he noted, includes trade planning. "Why," he asked, "should then the problem of international trade not be approached in the same way by the international community?"

To show that he does not stand alone, U Thant quoted the chairman of the Economic and Financial Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations, who said, " . . . trade should become the main and consciously planned instrument of economic development of less-developed countries, rather than to continue to function as an instrument to enrich the already rich." This chairman even claimed that international trade has always favored the same group of countries. If so, how did so many of the countries break out of the handicapped group and grow up, become well off—including the United States itself, a poor relation some 200 years ago?

Both of these spokesmen blame the poverty of the underdeveloped countries on the riches of the developed countries. This is a below-the-belt punch, just like blaming the food industry for the obesity of its patrons.

If domestic economic planning as conceived by Socialists, Marxists and Fabians, were a howling success, we might be constrained to listen to U Thant, et al. But the European Common Market members, for example, have foundered more seriously on the "adjustment of agricultural production and pricing" than on any other feature, precisely the area where government intervention has been at a maximum.

The United States has now floundered for more than a generation in the turbulent sea of "agricultural adjustment" without even piloting onto or stumbling into any durable solution. Last year U.S. government agricultural expenditures, including food for peace, the food stamp program (restricted to domestically produced food), reclamation, etc., amounted to over $8 billion. Even so, in January, 1964, the President's Council on Economic Advisers in its economic report stated that 43 per cent of the farmers belonged to the poverty class as defined by the council. Quite a recommendation for planning!

International commodity agreements have generally failed and collapsed; the few new ones show no signs of achieving their goals. This is so even when the planning is done in combination of consumer countries with producer countries—an attempt at a sort of conspiratorial "consensus" consummated by government bureau employes to a point where non-ratification by the consumer countries (chiefly Uncle Sam) would be embarrassing.

Domestic agricultural planning has gone farther in most countries than any other type of economic planning. It has hurt farmers, damaged consumers' interests and deteriorated international relations via tariffs, restrictions, quotas and embargoes. For U Thant to use as precedent domestic or internal planning as an argument for more international economic planning is quite unpersuasive—to put it mildly.

There is no evidence that our largesse cements international relations. In international relations there are no friendships—only interests. Even Bismarck exclaimed that the word "gratitude" does not appear in the international vocabulary.

The underdeveloped countries will develop if they have the will (a consensus) to do what is necessary—develop stable governments, encourage saving, investment and education, engage in research and development particularly with a view to diversifying their production and rely on the free price system and the profit motive. David Ricardo, one of the classical economists, said, "Nothing contributes so much to the prosperity and happiness of a country as high profits."

The pervasive anti-profit mentality in many underdeveloped countries will consign their peoples needlessly to decades and generations of poverty, disease and even hunger. The U.N. secretariat could greatly help alleviate these unfortunate conditions if it stressed the classical economic traditions.

The type of planning so popular with international institutions and in many backward countries also is in disharmony with human freedom. Dr. Milton Friedman in *Capitalism and Freedom* said,

"Historical evidence speaks with a single voice on the relation between political freedom and a free market. I know

To U. N. Secretary General U Thant the free market always favors the rich and damages the poor.

of no example in time or place of a society that has been marked by a large measure of political freedom, and that has not also used something comparable to a free market to organize the bulk of economic activity." (page 9)

Were poverty divinely ordained, or somehow inevitable, we would have to make the best of it. But to have influential leaders unwittingly deepen and prolong poverty in what could be an enlightened and world-wide prosperous age, turns one's thoughts to the subliminal stirrings of the devil. To put human freedom in jeopardy besides suggests that the devil must have numerous allies.

People Who Really Know Selma

By RUSSELL KIRK

As disorderly "demonstrations" recur at Selma, Ala., it is well to pay attention to the remonstrances of some pro-Negro residents of Selma who are trying courageously to restore order and tolerable relationships between white and colored people.

One such is Sister Michael Ann, administrator of the Good Samaritan Hospital in Selma, established for Negroes of limited means. Speaking in Detroit recently to a labor union convention, this nun says that Selma is like a volcano ready to erupt again. Only Martin Luther King, she thinks, "can resolve the trouble there—and I don't think he realizes what's going on."

What is going on? Chiefly, Sister Michael Ann points out, reckless and demagogic agitation by some 100 radicals, white and colored, who have continued to hang about Selma since the troubles in March. These are irresponsible outsiders, a curse to everyone trying to achieve peace and the improvement of the Negroes' condition.

Four categories of "civil rights" demonstrators came to Selma in March, Sister Michael Ann points out: first, dedicated, religious people, "who really knew why they were there"; second, well-intentioned folk who didn't quite know what the fuss was all about; third, rude, uncouth, neurotic rebels, indulging in sexual promiscuity, dreaded by Selma's citizens: last, "the followers," who simply came along for the fun and games—as, under other circumstances, they might join a lynch mob. The latter two groups have almost ruined what the first two groups tried to accomplish. "Oh, if we could just have a breather!" declares Sister Michael Ann.

Incidentally, the Good Samaritan Hospital treated the 100 "civil rights workers" injured in the fight with police on March, and most of those hurt since then. None of the civil rights demonstrators paid the hospital anything.

What are the fresh demonstrations at Selma accomplishing—the new ones organized by the 100 bearded freaks, white and black, who linger mischievously in Selma? Why, provoking racial hostility, mostly. The demands made by these radicals are impossible to fulfill—and even when concessions are offered these extremists, the "civil rights" fanatics fail to turn up for negotiations, or to cooperate in any way. They thrive upon disorder.

Certainly the continuing demonstrations have little to do with voter registration. A leading Negro minister of Selma, the Rev. C.C. Hunter, says that registration is simple nowadays.

"It used to be hard," Mr. Hunter explains. "I took the literacy test four times before I passed it, but it has been very easy to pass for a long time now. All during January the state kept registration open longer than they were required to. They are only supposed to allow people to register to vote twice a month, but they were open every day in January and anybody could register. All they had to do was walk down and register and sign their name. Hundreds of Negroes could have registered every week, but only 26 went down and registered." This was before Martin Luther King's march to Montgomery ever began!

In the name of "civil rights," fanatics and fantastics are not entitled to destroy a community. "License they mean, when they cry liberty," to use Milton's phrase. Or, in the words of a celebrated justice of the Supreme Court, "the Bill of Rights is not a suicide pact."

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Let Generals Run Viet War

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

Columnist Joseph Alsop and Barry Goldwater not often are found on the same side of an argument, but both are in agreement that President Johnson should stop trying to run the military operations of the Viet Nam war by remote control.

Mr. Goldwater said on a television broadcast recently that the President should stop trying to be his own general.

Mr. Alsop recently said that "the President is asking for very bad trouble by trying to act as both field marshal and top sergeant in a war halfway around the world, in a country he doesn't know, with combatants, tactics, terrain and an infinity of other local features which are wholly unfamiliar to him."

If the war were going well, such criticism would be muted, if it were heard at all, and the President's supporters probably would be proclaiming what a military genius he is. But the war goes badly; Americans and South Vietnamese have not found a way to halt the Communist raids, which are getting bolder and more effective, and the attempts to manage the war from the White House are clearly unrealistic.

Mr. Johnson lacks a MacArthur to run the war for him, but he does have Gen. Maxwell Taylor and other military men familiar with the Viet Nam military problems. It is about time to let them run the war.

Administrative Chaos

Shriver's Poverty War

By TED LEWIS in the New York *Daily News*

A House GOP task force headed by Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen (N.J.) has come up with some initial findings in its investigation of the Administration's war on poverty. It is to the effect that Sargent Shriver's anti-poverty outfit is a slick promotion propaganda operation but otherwise is floundering around in a chaotic administrative boondoggling mess.

The Republican conclusions are obviously somewhat partisan and based only on testimony taken in a brief five days of hearings. Nevertheless, the investigation is important, for it gave reputable critics of the way the war on poverty is being run a chance to inform Congress. It took a GOP task force to do this, because none of the regular committees of Congress, controlled by Democrats, has any intention of investigating the efficiency of the Administration's anti-poverty project.

As task force chairman Frelinghuysen said on June 18th—and the hearing record supports him—the purpose of the hearing was "constructive" and "not to wage war on the Office of Economic Opportunity, nor to challenge the goal of the program, which we all share."

He gave Shriver credit for mounting a fantastically efficient propaganda machine and said it leaves the impression of "well-conceived, competently administered programs."

But, Frelinghuysen added, "the moment that one digs below the picture of a smiling girl volunteer helping grinning first graders, the sorry state of bickering and administrative boondoggling emerges."

The task force proposed that before Congress rubber-stamps the $1.5 billion asked to carry on the war on poverty in the fiscal year beginning July 1, it find out where the $784 million appropriated 10 months ago "is being spent and why and how."

It is acknowledged, even by Democrats, that a lot of money is being tossed around indiscriminately on an emergency basis and that it has been impossible to get a clear picture of how much is being wasted or going to support administrative bureaucracies rather than to aid the poor.

The easy-come, easy-go manner in which poverty funds are handled was disclosed by Shriver himself only recently. The Senate Special Committee on Aging, headed by Sen. George Smathers (D.-Fla.), held a hearing to find out what was being done for the elderly poor. Shriver may have been derelict in the past in coming up with a program to help the aged poor, but once noting criticism in sight, he saw the need of prompt action.

So, with shrewd promoter instincts, he announced that his Office of Economic Opportunity was establishing a new $2.5-million program for the aged poor just as a starter. It will be known as the foster grandparents program, giving jobs to 2,000 poor people over 55. They will help care for neglected infants and children now in institutions or hospital charity wards.

By the end of the year this foster grandparents program will be tried out in 20 cities and, if it works, will be expanded. Along with it will be another program, with the cooperation of communities. This would provide a novel type of employment for old people who are poor.

These needy old folks would be hired to shop, cook and clean house for aged shut-ins who are also short of funds.

As some official estimates place the number of aged who live in poverty at five million, the way Shriver's two pilot programs could grow in cost is obvious.

Shriver is, of course, the proper whipping boy for all critics of the way the poverty program is being run. Yet, it is conceded, even by members of the House GOP task force, that he is more to be pitied than condemned.

There has never been such bureaucratic overlapping as exists in most phases of the poverty program. As the *Wall Street Journal* recently pointed out, a school dropout never had it so good in looking for help.

He can get help from those administering the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Vocational Education Act, the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps. In addition, he could be cared for under Shriver's community action grants and the billion-dollar school aid law.

And while Shriver goes blithely on waging the war against poverty, he is far from being the general entirely in charge. There is always some other federal agency dispensing funds in this anti-poverty area. Such as on June 18th when the Health, Education and Welfare Department allotted almost $20 million to 20 anti-poverty grants in 11 states.

Possibly the most discouraging instance of overlapping functions which costs the taxpayers millions in unnecessary administrative costs is Shriver's much-ballyhooed Project Head Start.

This is a program which is costing $17 million this summer and will cost $150 million a year when it starts really rolling in 1966. It is basically a federally-financed nursery school program for children from poor families.

One of the key phases in Project Head Start is the improvement of the health and physical abilities of the children.

They will be given medical check-ups, dental examinations, etc. But this entire program was neither developed by nor is going to be supervised by the Public Health Service. Instead, brand-new and expensive medical staffs are being set up at taxpayer expense to do the job the health service has been doing for years and has expert qualifications to handle. Isn't this a prime example of what Frelinghuysen calls "administrative boondoggling," Mr. Shriver?

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"I am opposed to the principle of this rent subsidy plan and to the philosophy behind it. Whether this Administration talks about it or not, the small businessman, the young man who has worked his way up in the shop, the barber, and all the rest of the so-called middle income citizens provide the great bulk of our nation's taxes. To tax them further only to give it back as a rent subsidy, with strings, is wrong."—Rep. William E. Brock (R.-Tenn.)

GNP vs. Debt

By REP. THOMAS B. CURTIS (R.-Mo.)

The Administration has sought to calm the fears of the Congress and our people about the ever increasing federal debt by pointing out that the federal debt is a less percentage of the gross national product than it was in 1946. This is true, and certainly the ratio of federal debt to our gross national product (the measure of the amount of economic activity going on in the society and hence a fair measure of federal tax revenues) has decreased since 1946. The error in this syllogism, however, lies in accepting 1946 as the year to use as a guidepost. Actually it is the worst year one could possibly select because that year reflects the full extent to which the federal government borrowed money to finance World War II. Actually the ratio of federal debt to GNP which we now have of 50 per cent is dangerously above the ratios which existed during the peacetime periods when this country grew the greatest economically. These ratios never exceeded 20 per cent. I suggest that a 16 per cent ratio is a pretty good optimum to shoot at inasmuch as the federal government can estimate its annual revenues as rougly 16 per cent of the gross national product. I doubt if debt for any person, business or government, should exceed the amount of yearly earnings except for emergencies. Twenty years after the end of World War II we still are only at a 50 per cent ratio. How much resiliency does this give us in the event of another big war or a sizable depression?

Dominican Fiasco

By REP. EDWARD DERWINSKI (R.-Ill.)

The Johnson Administration has already lost an opportunity to solve the Dominican crisis by permitting the Communists to perpetuate the stalemate among the Dominicans. The Johnson Administration blows hot and cold, committing our troops to battle in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic while it is developing a program to subsidize the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites through trade concessions, while these Communists, in turn, support Castro and provide direct aid to the North Vietnamese Reds. It is fascinating to note that the temporarily strong Administration policy on Viet Nam is basically the Republican view, while the hordes of foreign policy critics are being led by Democratic voices of appeasement, such as Sen. J. William Fulbright and ultra-liberal, political and academic groups, all vigorous Johnson supporters in the 1964 election. We thus find a Democratic President following the Republican lead.

Poverty Problems

By REP. BARBER CONABLE (R.-N. Y.)

Nobody favors poverty. But seeking to learn the facts about a "war on poverty" can be interpreted as opposition to aiding the poor and harassment of those valiant fighters in the bureaucratic front lines, who also may not want too close a study of their effectiveness. The bill to extend the program, on which Congress will soon be asked to act, bears a magical price tag of $1.9 billion, more than twice the first year's cost. Let me say at this point that I think there are many worthwhile parts of this program. A billion, or two billion, or three billion dollars applied to the problem of poverty, or any other social or economic problem, is going to have some impact somewhere. If the program is well designed to strike at root causes, it may have a lasting value far beyond initial expense. But what we sometimes forget is that the taking of the billion, or two billion, or three billion dollars from the taxpayers so that it can be applied to a social or economic problem, is also going to have another impact everywhere on every taxpayer. What we have to do is to strike a balance—do the probable social benefits match or exceed the cost to the public? I have heard the government approach which refuses to strike this balance referred to as "undifferentiated goodness" and I commend this term to your consideration. Are people poor? Give them money. Do they need shelter? Build them houses. Are they unhappy? Buy them a ticket to the circus. This approach assumes unlimited resources and a beneficence unencumbered by priorities. Unfortunately, social wisdom cannot ignore priorities because no society can ignore costs, human or economic.

Down on the Farm

By SEN. CARL T. CURTIS (R.-Neb.)

Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz, who has denied fruit and vegetable growers and producers of sugar beets their continued use of foreign nationals for harvests, has taken to recruiting unemployed city youths. It has presented a number of problems. First, the city kids know very little about harvesting. They don't like the work and in one Midwest city, the recruitment drive was conducted in an exclusive suburban high school where most of the youngsters are offspring of the city's wealthier families. Last but not least, the program also has caused prices of vegetables and fruits to go up in the supermarkets and grocery stores.

U.S. Can Win in South Viet Nam

By REP. HOWARD H. CALLAWAY (R.-Ga.)

Rep. Howard H. Callaway, one of the new breed of GOP Southerners, recently returned from a fact-finding mission to South Viet Nam, where he accompanied combat patrols against the Viet Cong and conferred with high-ranking U.S. and Vietnamese officers. Rep. Callaway is a West Point graduate and was an infantry platoon leader in the Korean War.

Every single senior officer I spoke with in Viet Nam told me that this is a war we must win. This is the classic 'war of liberation.' This is the war that all Communist leaders have told us we will be having throughout the world. If the Communists win, we expect immediately similar wars not only in Southeast Asia where we all hear of the domino theory, but throughout the entire world, particularly in Africa and Latin and South America.

I would like to point out also that this is a war of terror. You have heard, as pointed out in the State Department White Paper, that 500 village chiefs have been killed in 1964 alone and over twice that many kidnapped. These are village chiefs. Many times that number of just plain civilians have been killed, kidnapped and captured. Five hundred may not sound like so many, but if we think of the equivalent of their population to our population, it is the equivalent in one year of 20,000 U.S. mayors killed or kidnapped. This is a genuine war of terror.

The Vietnamese are good soldiers. Our men praise them. They are hard fighters. They are brave . . . . But they have one real overriding problem, the problem of leadership.

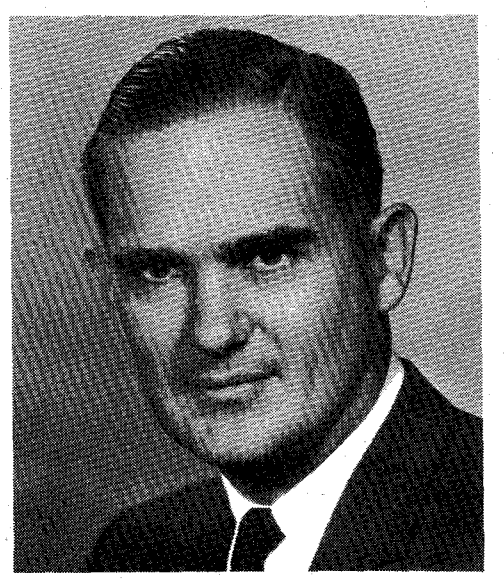
During their tenure in Viet Nam, the French did not train native leaders. Certainly we are doing so now, but this takes time, and meanwhile the lack of native leadership poses a big problem.

A striking example of this was one battalion fighting in the Second Corps area. The battalion was doing extremely well, until the battalion commander was killed, and then the group went completely to pieces and was routed. There are not enough qualified replacements to take the place of men killed. This poses the biggest problem to our advisers.

As a result of this trip and of the things I did see in a week, I have come up with some recommendations.

The first recommendation is that we should realize that the Viet Cong are being fought by the Vietnamese with the assistance of our advisers . . . I do support sending operational troops into Viet Nam because I feel it may be necessary to protect our interests against other operational troops. But the long-range war against the Viet Cong guerrillas should be fought by the Vietnamese . . .

My second recommendation is that we should now consider bombing additional military targets in North Viet Nam. We know that Russia has the Il-28 jets near Hanoi and the jets have a capability of bombing us in South Viet Nam today. We know of the SAM missile sites in the same region. Either today or shortly, we may have jets bombing our bases and ships and missiles shooting down our aircraft.



Rep. Howard H. Callaway, Georgia's first GOP congressman since Reconstruction, went to Viet Nam recently at his own expense.

A third recommendation is that we consider some kind of political solution whereby the free world would gain from the war in Viet Nam. As it is now, the leaders of Hanoi have nothing to lose. Whenever they feel they may be losing the war, they can merely say that they will live up to the 1954 Geneva agreement, since this is apparently our objective. They only need to say, "we will stop breaking our word and stop trying to destroy South Viet Nam." Since this is our apparent objective, we would stop our participation in the war on this basis as a great victory. But would it be a victory?

In a month, or three months or six months, when the time was right, the leaders of Hanoi could start down the trails again to supply the Viet Cong.

All we are now asking for our expenditure of American money and our expenditure of American lives is for Hanoi to go back and do what they have already promised to do. But if we should have a further objective, then the situation would change. Suppose we should adopt as our objective a "unified Viet Nam free from Communist control." We would then have something to win and conversely the leaders of Hanoi would have something to lose. I should think that our strength at the bargaining table would be greatly strengthened by such an approach. . . .

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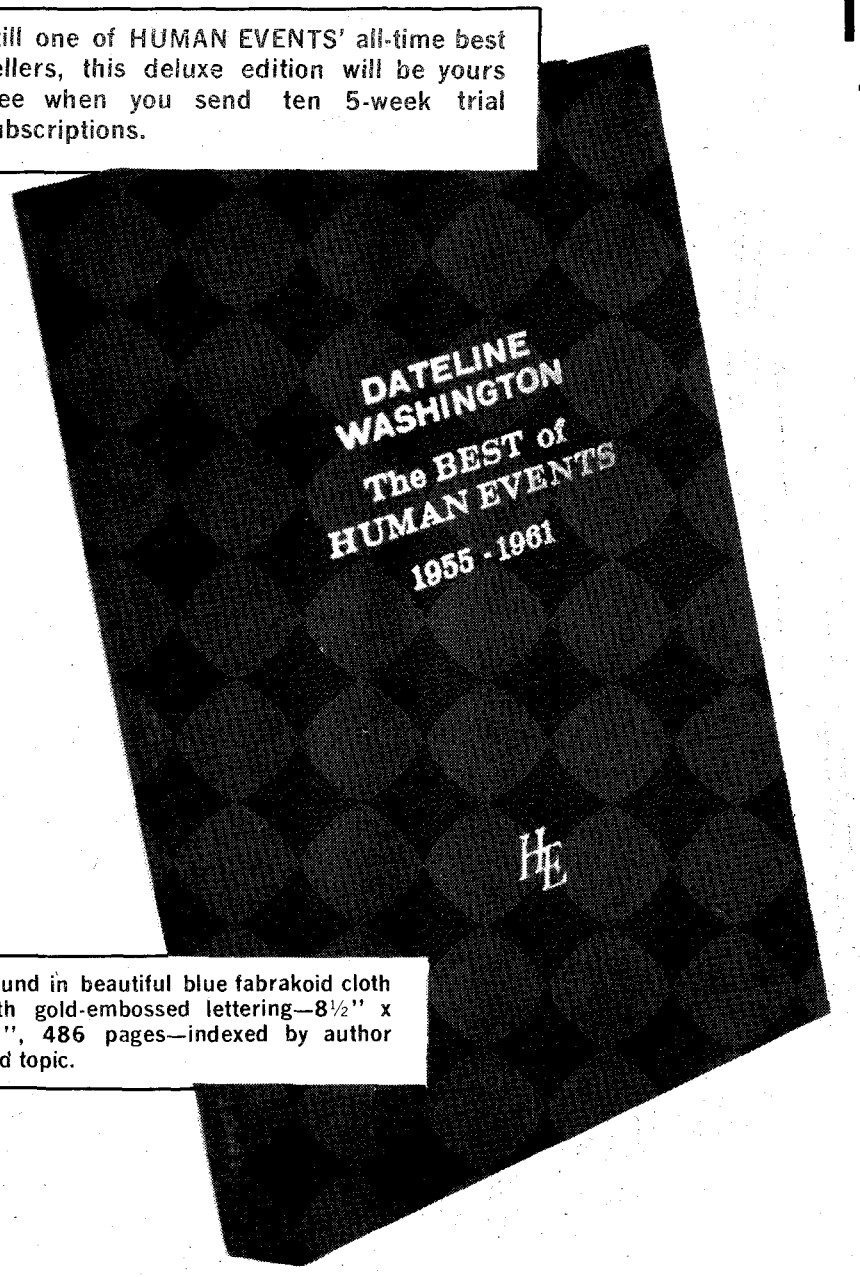

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